TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1893-94.

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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.

VOL. XVIII.

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The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statement made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, 2 Upper Byron Place, Clifton, for the Notices of Books.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society,
1893-1894.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL SPRING MEETING AT GLOUCESTER,

On Thursday, April 27th, 1893.

PART I.

THE Opening Meeting was held at Gloucester, on Thursday, April 27th, 1893.

At noon, Mr. WILFRID CRIPPS, C B., President of the Meeting, gave an address on "Church Plate, and how to Describe it."

The Mayor (Mr. J. A. MATTHEWS) referred to the preparation of the *Gloucester Corporation Records*.

Mr. W. H. BRUTON said that the second volume would compare favourably with the first as a monument of painstaking activity and research.

A hearty vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Cripps, on the motion of Sir Brook Kay, Bart., the members adjourned for luncheon, after which, the carved panels at Mr. J. A. Fisher's house in Westgate Street were described by the Rev. W. Bazeley, General Secretary.

Subsequently Mr. F. W. Waller conducted a party over the Cathedral. The Rev. S. E. Bartleet described the Hospitals of St. Margaret and St. Magdalene; and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Bruton entertained the members at afternoon tea.

During the afternoon a meeting was held of the committee appointed to draw up a descriptive list of Gloucestershire Church Plate, an interesting, valuable, and comprehensive collection of which was on view during the day at the Guildhall. As an example of the pre-Reformation period may be mentioned a priceless silver gilt chalice and paten, of the date 1494, the

marks on which were:—a leopard's head, crowned, the date letter, a Lombardic R, and the maker's mark, an eagle or a vulture. On one panel at the foot of the chalice was an engraving of the Crucifixion.[1] Curious church cups, characteristic of the time of Queen Elizabeth, were illustrated by some examples from Gloucester. The massive plate of the Restoration period could have had no better illustration than the grand set sent by the Dean of Gloucester, noticeable among it being the large flagons with splay feet. Plain plate of the Queen Anne period, with tulip-shaped cups, was pretty numerously represented. There were also specimens of plate of secular origin, such as the two-handled cups of the eighteenth century. Of the other exhibits, the head of the "Crozier of Limoges," from the Arkell Collection, Gloucester Museum, and the head of a tipstaff, used by the sergeant who delivered Bishop Hooper over to the local authorities two days before his martyrdom, were interesting relics.

[1] See *Trans.* of Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. XIV., p. 86.

Proceedings at the Annual Summer Meeting at Newnham-on-Severn,

On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 25th, 26th, and 27th July, 1893.

The Eighteenth Annual Summer Meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society was held at Newnham on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, July 25th, 26th, and 27th.

At 10 a.m. on Tuesday morning the reception room at Hill House (kindly placed at the disposal of the Society during the meeting by Mr. J. Wintle) was open for the use of the members and associates, and at 10.50 a.m. a meeting of the Council was held to elect subscribing members and to consider the report of the Council. While these deliberations were proceeding a party of visitors took the opportunity of a short tour through Newnham. The church was visited, where from the cliff on which it is situate a fine view can be obtained of the great bend of the upper estuary of the Severn, where it makes a gigantic sweep from Framilode to Fretherne. The old British camp, overlooking the undulating hills of the Forest of Dean, were also visited, and in coming out into the Monmouth road, Mr. T. B. Fox drew the attention of the party to the original Roman curbing which borders either side of the road at frequent intervals at this spot. The Chairman and members of the local committee received the members at Hill House at 11.30. Among those present at the meeting, or who subsequently joined the party, were:— Sir Brook Kay, Bart., Sir James Campbell, Colonel Linley Blathwayt, Colonel Smyth, Colonel Davies, Colonel Walwyn, Major-General Vizard, Lieut.-Colonel J. Bramble, Captain and Mrs. Marling; the Revs. Canon Jones, C. Smyth, J. E. C. Besant, S. E. Bartleet, A. F. Dandy, A. D. Pringle, Silvester Davies, C. A. Seaton, N. W. Gresley,

E. S. SMITH, and WM. BAZELEY (Hon. Gen. Secretary); Dr. and Mrs. DREW, Dr. OSCAR CLARK, Mr. and Mrs. JAMES BAKER, Mr. and Mrs. RUSSELL J. KERR, Mr. and Mrs. SAVAGE, Mr. and Mrs. G. T. V. KEELING, Mr. and Mrs. SHEFFIELD BLAKEWAY, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. CHANTER, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. SUMMERS, Mr. and Mrs. BONNOR, Mrs. and Miss BAGNALL-OAKELEY, Miss COCKSHOTT, and Messrs. T. S. ELLIS, C. H. DANCEY, J. CURTIS, H. MEDLAND, JAMES BRUTON, H. W. BRUTON, R. GROVES-MORRIS, J. PLATT, C. T. PALMER, A. W. CORNWALL, E. R. RAITT, F. A. HYETT, A. LE BLANC, E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, P. D. PRANKERD, S. H. SWAYNE, E. D'ARGENT, FRANCIS F. FOX, A. MASSEY, G. B. WITTS, V. R. PERKINS, F. BLANDY, W. LEIGH, C. J. TRUSTED, CHAS. HALL, G. LLOYD BAKER, G. SEYS, F. F. TUCKETT, M. F. CARTER, T. THORPE, and DOUGLAS J. WINTLE (Local Secretary).

Sir BROOK KAY, Bart., President of the Council, presided at the meeting, which was opened with a hearty welcome to the visitors by Mr. Russell J. Kerr. The following Report of the Council was then read by the Secretary, the Rev. William Bazeley:—

COUNCIL REPORT OF THE BRISTOL & GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1892-3.

THE Council presents the following Report for the past year to the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, There are at present 372 annual members, 74 life members, and 4 honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 450 members.

The income of the Society for the financial year ending April 21st, 1893, was £214 7s. 4d. The expenditure during the same period was £191 3s. 5d. The balance in the hands of the Society's Treasurer on April 21st, 1893, was £294 12s. 7d., as against a balance of £271 8s. 8d. on the 21st of April, 1892. Besides this balance, on which the cost of the Transactions for 1892-3 must be considered a charge, the Society has a funded capital of £432 3s. 8d. invested in consols, representing the fees paid by the life members.

The Society has held two Meetings during the past year. The Annual Summer Meeting of 1892 was held at Cirencester, in conjunction with the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, on the 23rd of August and two following days. The Presidency of the two Societies had been accepted by Gen. Pitt Rivers, and it was hoped until within a few days

of the Meeting that he would be able to be present; but the state of his health was so critical that his medical advisers forbade the attempt. In compliance with the request of the Councils of the two Societies, Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., the author of "Old English Plate," and one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, very kindly consented to preside over the Meeting, and did so most successfully.

Under the guidance of the Rev. E. A. Fuller, the Parish Church of Cirencester was visited; and many relics of Corinium, discovered since the previous Meeting of the Society at Cirencester in 1877, were shown by Mr. Wilfrid Cripps and the Countess Bismark (Mrs. Cripps) at the Walnut Trees, and by Mr. Christopher Bowly at the Museum. On the second day of the Meeting an excursion was made to Fairford, Kempsford, Cricklade, and Siddington; and on the day following many members of this Society visited Abury and Silbury under the guidance of the General Secretary.

On the first day of the Meeting a very handsome silver bowl, together with a purse of gold, were presented to the Rev. William Bazeley by Col. Forbes, R.A., on behalf of himself and 127 other members of this Society, in recognition of his services as Honorary General Secretary from 1875 to 1892.

The Spring Meeting of this Society was held at Gloucester, on the 27th of April, 1893, and the members were received by the Mayor (Mr. Matthews) at the new Guild Hall. Many beautiful examples of ancient Church Plate, which had been lent for the occasion by the clergy of the city of Gloucester and others, including a pre-Reformation chalice and paten from Clifford Chambers and enamelled candlesticks from the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, were arranged by the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Mr. G. S. Blakeway, and Mr. H. Medland, and exhibited to the members. Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., who presided, gave an address on "Church Plate, and how to Describe it," which was listened to by a large audience with unflagging interest.

Whilst thanking the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Guild Hall on this occasion, and for the unfailing courtesy, extended on every possible occasion through the Town Clerk (Mr. G. S. Blakeway), to the officers and members of the Society, the Council would take this opportunity of congratulating the citizens of Gloucester on their recent acquisition of public offices worthy of the traditions handed down to them by sixty generations of predecessors.

A committee, consisting at present of about thirty members of this Society, has been formed with a view to making an illustrated list of Church Plate in the County of Gloucester and City of Bristol, and are now engaged in the work under the superintendence of Mr. Wilfrid Cripps and the General Secretary. Three Secretaries, the Rev. J. M. Hall, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, and Mrs. Broome Witts, have been appointed for the three

Archdeaconries of Gloucester, Bristol and Cirencester respectively. The Council trusts that the clergy of the diocese will approve of the work and give facilities to the members of the committee to examine and describe their Church Plate. Any further offers of assistance, especially in and near Bristol and in the Archdeaconry of Cirencester, will be thankfully accepted.

It has not yet been decided whether the list, when completed, shall be printed in the Society's Transactions or in a separate volume, but in either case the members will have an opportunity given them of possessing it.

The Congress of Archæological Societies, in conjunction with the Society of Antiquaries of London, was held at Burlington House, under the Presidency of Sir John Evans, on Monday, the 10th of July, and Mr. A. E. Hudd and the Rev. William Bazeley attended as the delegates of this Society. A report of the proceedings will reach the Council in due time; but in the meanwhile it may be well to call the attention of the members to the proposed Photographic Record of Archæological Objects. The Council believes that amongst the members of this Society there are many skilful amateur photographers who would gladly combine to make a collection of such interesting monuments of ancient and mediæval Art and History as still remain in the lower valley of the Severn, on the Cotteswolds and in the Forest of Dean. The Council proposes, therefore, during the forthcoming winter or spring, to invite one or more gentlemen, who have taken a leading part in the photographic survey of Warwickshire, under the auspices of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, to meet the members of this Society, to give them an account of the origin and progress of the work in the neighbouring county, and shew them examples of the permanent photographs which have been taken. The Council are not without hope that such information, when given, may lead to a similar Survey being undertaken in Bristol and Gloucestershire under the direction of this Society.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science has determined to organise an Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, and has invited the local Archæological Societies and Field Clubs to take part in it. The Councils of this Society and of the Cotteswold Field Club have gladly adopted the suggestion of Mr. Sidney E. Hartland to form a joint committee of six members whose duty it will be to select one or more typical villages, the inhabitants of which (as the result of comparative isolation) have preserved some of the original characteristics of their race.

The Council united with the committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London in protesting against the threatened destruction of the Tower of Westbury College, and asked the Mayor of Bristol and other influential citizens of Bristol and inhabitants of Westbury and the neighbourhood to do their utmost to prevent it. The Council is now glad to be able to state

that, through the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Alfred Shipley, of Westbury-on-Trym, this interesting building has been acquired by purchase, and will be vested in the hands of trustees with a view to its preservation. The tower requires a good deal of repair to prevent it from falling into ruin. If a public subscription is opened for this purpose, it is hoped that the members of this Society will contribute. Westbury College was connected with the Bishopric of Worcester and with the spread of the Christian religion in Gloucestershire for eight hundred years previous to the dissolution of the monasteries in the 16th century. William Canynge, a benefactor to the city of Bristol and the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, who died in 1474, was Dean of Westbury during the latter years of his useful and noble life.

Circumstances have rendered it necessary to appoint a new printer in succession to Messrs. Jefferies, who have printed the Transactions of this Society for the last sixteen years. A committee of Council invited several of the best printers of Bristol and Gloucestershire, as well as some others, to send in estimates for the work. The three printers who were selected, as sending in the lowest estimates, were asked to print a specimen page of the Transactions as an example of their printing; and finally Mr. Osborne, of Gloucester, was recommended by the committee and appointed by the Council for one year. An agreement, kindly prepared by Mr. F. A. Hyett and Mr. G. S. Blakeway, having been approved of by the Council, has been executed by two of the officers on behalf of the Society and by Mr. Osborne.

The Council deplores the death of two of its members during the past year: Mr. John Taylor and Mr. John Williams. The latter, when in health, rarely failed to take part in the meetings of this Society, or in the deliberations of the Council when it met at Bristol. By his kindness and consideration for the wishes and feelings of others he endeared himself to many friends. Mr. John Taylor, who for several years held the responsible position of Chief Librarian of the Bristol City Library, is entitled to be remembered as one of the founders of this Society in 1876. Our Transactions contain many important articles which he contributed, and its pages bear record to the invaluable help which he afforded to the members as guide to churches and other buildings and places of interest in Bristol and the neighbourhood. Amongst other members who have been taken from us by death, the Council would mention the Rev. John Emeris, who always took a lively interest in the work of this Society.

The Council has agreed to exchange Transactions with the Surrey Archæological Society, and in addition to the Proceedings of the twenty-two societies with whom this Society is on terms of exchange, the following works have been added to the Society's library:—"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments at Berkeley Castle," 1892;

"Gloucestershire and Bristol Record Series," parts 1-3; "The Fauna and Flora of Gloucestershire" (by purchase); "The History of Lancashire," by Baines (by exchange); "The 'Little' Family," by E. Caruthers Little; "The Painswick Register for 1892"; "The Earls of Middleton"; "Notices of Castle-acre Priory"; "Notices and Recollections of Stroud," by Paul Hawkins Fisher; "Memoir of Rev. Sam. Warneford"; "History and Description of Warwick"; and "Church Plate of Wilts" (by donation).

The Council, at the urgent request of the present General Secretary, has determined to recommend the appointment of a joint General Secretary, residing in or near Bristol, and it is hoped that this appointment, if made, will strengthen the position of the Society in its first home. The Council has asked the Rev. C. S. Taylor, Vicar of S. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, to allow them to nominate him as Mr. Bazeley's coadjutor, and he has kindly allowed them to do so. Mr. Taylor has already earned the gratitude of the members by contributing "An Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire," and two admirable articles on the early history of the county, to the Transactions.

The Council desires to nominate the President of the Council, the Vice-Presidents, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, and the Local Secretaries for re-election. Col. Forbes, who has represented the Society with great ability at Dursley for many years, has tendered his resignation on account of failing health, but the Council earnestly desires that he will reconsider the matter and that his health may be restored to him. The Council also nominates Mr. C. S. Taylor as Joint General Secretary. The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election:—Mr. Arthur Le Blanc, Mr. W. Crawshay Heane, Mr. P. D. Prankerd, the Rev. D. Royce, and the Rev. W. Silvester Davies. There are also vacancies caused by the death of Mr. John Taylor and the regretted resignation of Mr. John Reynolds.

The Council has held six meetings during the past year—three at Gloucester, two at Bristol, and one at Newnham—and desires to express its obligation to the Mayor of Gloucester, the Mayor of Bristol, and Mr. James Wintle, for the free use of the Guild Hall at Gloucester, the Grand Jury Room at Bristol, and Hill House, Newnham.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Le Blanc, the report was adopted, and a hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Bazeley for its preparation.

The retiring members of the Council, mentioned in the report, and the Rev. H. D'Ombrain, were re-elected, after which the Chairman introduced the new President of the Council, Mr. Russell J. Kerr. In doing so, the Chairman said Mr. Kerr was so thoroughly well-known throughout the county that he hardly required any introduction from him. The Society had been privileged to have had presiding over them in the past, gentlemen

eminent for their learning and eminent in their social position. He was quite sure that the Society would be most proud of adding the name of Mr. Kerr to their roll of Presidents of the Council. Mr. Kerr briefly responded.

VISIT TO LYDNEY PARK.

The party then left Newnham Railway Station by the 12.45 train for Lydney, and walked or drove to the site of the White House, famous for its defence by Lady Winter against General Massey during the great civil war. The Rev. W. Bazeley, Mr. F. A. Hyett, and Mr. C. Bathurst, jun., entertained the visitors with a short history of the house, of which but little save pieces of an old garden wall is left. From this point, Lydney Park, the seat of Mr. Charles Bathurst, was quickly reached, and here the members were received by Mr. Bathurst's son and Miss Bathurst, and found lunch awaiting them in a marquee erected in the park. About 150 sat down to a most excellent repast, which, needless to say, was thoroughly enjoyed, as the various contingents from Bristol, Stroud, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Cheltenham, had all left their homes at an early hour. After lunch, Mr. Russell Kerr referred to the hearty welcome given them by Mr. Bathurst, remarking that he had not only given them food for the mind in throwing his beautiful and interesting park open to them, but also food for the body. He thought they could not separate without thanking him for his princely hospitality. The proposition was received with general favour, and Mr. C. Bathurst, jun., replied. He said he only wished that his father could have been present to have given the Society a cordial welcome, but owing to ill-health he could not come amongst them. Mr. Bathurst not only took the greatest possible interest in antiquities found in the park, but he also experienced much pleasure, and appreciated the labours of others interested in the subject of Roman remains, particularly those who belonged to the Archæological Society of our own county. He (the speaker) would make bold to say that there were to be found in the Forest of Dean, in the district, and more particularly in that immediate neighbourhood, objects of interest that would compare favourably with those to be seen in any other part of the county. At any rate, if the value or attractiveness of antiquarian treasure could be gauged according to difficulty of explanation, or how they could be accounted for, he was quite sure that the visitors would find the Roman camp, &c., in the park not devoid of interest. Among other things they had a private god of their own. He hoped all would find something to interest them, and when they left in the evening they would feel that their day had not been wasted.

After inspecting the valuable and large collection of pottery, coins (many of them of Carausius, the usurper), pins, and fibulæ found in the park, an adjournment was made to the Roman encampment. There are two earthworks overlooking the Severn on adjacent hills, separated from each

other by a narrow valley. Adjoining the larger are the remains of Roman buildings—a villa and the temple. The villa covers an area of 168 feet by 135 feet, and has a hypocaust and fine tesselated pavement. The temple, from the inscription found therein, was dedicated to a god not previously known to exist in the Roman Pantheon—Nodons or Nodens—suggested as a local god presumed to preside over the "abyss," *i.e.* the sea, and therefore over the passage of the Severn at this particular point. The pavements and some of the remains were uncovered for the benefit of inspection by the party, and many expressions of pleasure and admiration were passed by the visitors at the beauty of the work. Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley gave a short sketch of the camp and Roman villa, and Mr. Bathurst, who acted as guide to the members, read an interesting letter from his father. The rain unfortunately interrupted Mr. Witts' speech upon his theory that the camp is British, with a Roman villa built in it, but the weather cleared again for the walk back to Lydney, from whence the Society returned to Newnham to a *table d'hôte* dinner at the Victoria Hotel, and a subsequent meeting.

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

At eight o'clock a Conversazione was held at Hill House, when the President gave his

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Mr. RUSSELL J. KERR said upon taking the chair on that occasion his first duty must be to thank the Society for the honour it had conferred upon him. He asked them to remember that he made no pretence to such knowledge of the subject as a president ought to possess, and to be "to my faults a little blind," assuring them at the same time that no effort on his part should be wanting in order to lay before them such matters of interest as their immediate neighbourhood could boast of. He welcomed the Society to the town of Newnham, and in doing so he expressed their thanks to Mr. Wintle, who had kindly put the house in which they were now assembled at their disposal for the three days of the meeting. The President then read a most interesting paper on the "Domestic History" of the town and neighbourhood of Newnham, from the time when Canute the Dane, (according to Atkyns), in the year 1018, granted the manor of Newnham to the Benedictine Abbey of Pershore, in Worcestershire, down to the present day. After dealing with the

geographical position of Newnham, for the sake of convenience, the writer divided his paper into the following heads:—(1) The Manor of Newnham, and those manors parts of which were within the boundaries of the parish; (2) The Municipality of the Town, including its mayoralty, local government, &c.; (3) The Church; (4) The Castle; and (5) The Trade. The President continued:—Atkyns tells us that the "town of Newnham was distinct from the manor, and was given by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, to an Abbey of Black Monks which he had founded at Coventry in the year 1050." In the time of Edward III. (1327) the town and borough were valued at £9 yearly and was afterwards granted to Lord Stafford, and is now (1712) likewise vested in Henry, the present Earl of Stafford." Atkyns further tells us (1712) that "the town is governed by a mayor, and hath a weekly market on Friday, and two fairs yearly." The President said he could not find any record of the mayoralty or of its cessation. The weekly market was no longer kept up, but the two fairs were still held, and tolls taken by the lord of the manor. At the time Atkyns wrote (1712) the number of houses in the parish was 90, and the number of inhabitants 400. In the year 1863 the parish adopted the Local Government Act of 1858, and since that time the management of the town had been in the hands of the Local Board. Rudder (1779) tells us that "this was an ancient borough of which in the time of Edward I. the sheriff returned only five in the county, viz., Bristol, Gloucester, Berkeley, Dursley, and Newnham, and it was governed by a Mayor and Burgesses." Rudder also says: "The sword of State given by King John is still preserved, &c., &c., to be shown in testimony of their former greatness and better condition." He further adds: "Having lost their charter, they still contrive by prescriptive right to elect a mayor annually, but neither the mayor or aldermen, of whom there are six, have any authority over the town, which is governed by two beams or constables." Mr. Kerr gave a most interesting account of the sword referred to by Rudder, which was on view to the company at Hill House,

and which is the second largest sword in the country. The length of the blade is 4 ft. 4 ins, the length of the hilt 1 ft. 6 ins., and of the haft 1 ft. 5 ins. The largest sword of the time of Edward III., and now in Westminster Abbey, has a blade 5 ft. 3 ins. long. The Newnham sword was the subject of proceedings taken in Vice-Chancellor Wood's Court, the object of which was to stop the sale of it by auction, as it was then advertised. The sword was eventually sold by the representatives of the Lord of the Manor, and was afterwards recovered by Mr. Kerr himself. Whether the sword was really given to the town by, or is of the time of, King John, there is some question.

Speaking of the salubrity of the neighbourhood as evinced by the longevity of some of the inhabitants, and the low death rate as shown by the returns of the officer of health, the writer said he found in the Annual Register 1772, p. 112, the death mentioned of a Mrs. Keith, at Newnham, aged 133, who retained her senses till within a fortnight of her death. She left £6000 to her three daughters, the youngest of whom was 109 years. In 1891 the average births was 19.2 and the deaths 8.5 per thousand. References were then made by the President to the castle, church, etc., of Newnham.

Of the trade of Newnham, Rudder (1779) says: "Trade has been very considerable, and almost wholly confined to the exportation of oak bark to Ireland, till a few years ago, when Mr. Robert Pyrke, merchant, built a commodious quay on the side of the river with cranes and store houses for the convenience of shipping and landing all sorts of goods, and from that time the manufacturers of Birmingham and other places have brought great quantities in barges down the river to this town where they are shipped in vessels of one to two hundred tons burden and carried to London. Coal is brought hither on horse-back from the pits two or three miles off in the Forest of Dean, to be sent to other places by water." Again, "Sir Edward Mansell, in the reign of King Charles I., erected here the first glass house in England, which was worked with store coal, the foundation of which still remains."

The glass manufacture, said the President, had, however, even then disappeared, "but there is a very considerable verdigris work set up in its room, and the trade of ship-building is much encouraged." Now, said Mr. Kerr, the only traces remaining of glass-making are to be seen in the square blocks of the refuse of that manufacture built into various walls in the neighbourhood. Shipbuilding, however, continued to be an industry in Newnham for many years. In the *Gloucester Journal* of Monday, April 8th, 1776, is found the following:—"On Saturday evening was launched at Newnham, a fine new ship of 400 tons burden, called 'The Nancy.' She is built for Mr. Harford, an eminent merchant at Bristol, by Mr. Bowen, of Newnham, and is the largest ship ever built on the river Severn." From the same newspaper, September 21st, 1778:—"We hear a large ship of 600 tons burden is intended to be launched at Newnham, on Wednesday morning next, if the tide prove favourable." Again, October 25th, 1779: "On Wednesday next, 29th inst., about 9 o'clock will be launched at Newnham a fine new ship, pierced for sixteen six pounders, designed for a letter of marque, chiefly manned by the Dean Foresters, John Lewis, Commander." Again, January 8th, 1781: "The spirit of privateering has extended itself to Newnham, where two vessels are equipped against the Dutch, to be manned by the brave lads of the Forest of Dean, of whose success great expectations are formed, as they are supposed to be some of the most resolute fellows and the best marksmen in the kingdom." Again, July 23rd, 1792: "One of the most expeditious voyages ever made between the Severn and the Thames was that performed last week by 'The Severn.' She arrived at the wharf in the Thames five days from her sailing from Newnham." Whether, said the President, the good ship "Nancy" proved herself to be a profitable speculation to Mr. Harford; whether the tide proved favourable for the launching of the fine new 600-ton ship; whether the letters of marque were ever granted to the sixteen-gun sloop, or she became a terror to the King's enemies, or whether the great

expectations formed of the brave lads of the Forest were ever realised, he could not say; but the trade of shipbuilding had departed from Newnham, and it might be said that the carrying trade had been edged out of the river Severn by the introduction of steam and the necessities of modern requirements. Brave lads, however, did still exist at Newnham, and although they might hope that their services might never be called for, yet they could be assured they would be forthcoming should the country ever require them.

At the close of the President's address, the Rev. W. Bazeley mentioned a few interesting facts in connection with Newnham Castle, referred to in the Inaugural Address. Speaking of the address itself, Mr. Bazeley said a paper of that character could not be written in a week or even in a month, but required a great deal of hard work in the way of research. The Society could help Mr. Kerr by looking out for further information on points dealt with by him in his address. He had no doubt that the paper would grow into a very valuable record of the ancient borough of Newnham.

After an interval for refreshments, papers of archæological interest were read by some of the members present. Mr. F. A. Hyett read a paper on "The Civil War in the Forest of Dean," in which the writer combined, in a concise form, the result of his own observation and research with historical references to the subject. Mr. E. S. Hartland contributed a paper on "The Whitsuntide rite at St. Briavels;" and Mr. Fox dealt very briefly (owing to the lateness of the hour) with the Roman occupation, as relating to Newnham.

WEDNESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

A VISIT TO GOODRICH COURT AND SYMOND'S YAT.

On Wednesday the members left Newnham by a Great Western train for Lydney at 9.50, from whence a special train (courteously placed at the disposal of the Society by the Severn and Wye and Severn Bridge Railway Company's directors) conveyed the party through the Forest of Dean to Lydbrook Junction and from thence to Kerne Bridge. Arriving at Kerne Bridge, carriages were waiting which conveyed the party past Priory Farm, the remains of Flanesford Priory (in excellent preservation, and now used as a farm building), to Goodrich Court, where Mr. H. C. Moffatt kindly allowed them to inspect his magnificent collection of silver plate. This priceless collection, a quantity of which is now on exhibition in London, included an extremely handsome tea urn of William III., two massive

tankards, once the property of Clare Hall, Cambridge, an antique punch-bowl of the Queen Anne period, together with a number of beautiful specimens of English spoons ranging in date from the 15th to the middle of the 18th century. There were also a very rare collection of foreign and Georgian plate, and a magnificent epergne of most artistic workmanship. The party were also invited to view the handsome banquetting hall, with its elaborate oak panelling and carving, which, together with other additions, is in course of erection at the mansion. The artistically carved oak frieze running round the room, and the pendants from which the lamps are suspended, are of the most beautiful workmanship. Mr. Moffatt told the company that the whole of the oak was English, and had been selected from time to time by himself. Mr. T. Collins, of Tewkesbury, is the builder. By the hospitality of Mrs. Moffatt, refreshments were partaken of at Goodrich Court; and before leaving, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. and Mrs. Moffatt for their kindness and courtesy in entertaining the members. In reply, Mr. Moffatt said he hoped to be able to show the Society further objects of interest should they again desire to pay him a visit. A move was then made to Goodrich Castle, where an interesting paper on the old ruins was read by the Rev. Prebendary C. A. Seaton.

The writer said the early history of the stronghold of Goodrich was veiled in obscurity, and could not be proved by any authentic records. The county of Hereford being a frontier in all the wars between the English and the Welsh, had upon that account been very remarkable for its number of forts and castles. The derivation of the name Goodrich, or Goderich, in the opinion of the writer, was derived from Gwy (pronounced Goo-ee), the Welsh name of the Wye, and Reich, or Rich, a kingdom or territory, or it might possibly have been named after Goda, a Saxon princess. Several antiquarians were of opinion that the name was derived from Godricus Dux, as, according to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, a man of that name witnessed two charters granted by King Canute to the Abbey of Hulm (Norfolk). Freeman, in his History of the Norman Conquest, mentions a Godricus de Rossa, but no one could show that either of these men (or this man if they refer to the same person) had anything to do with the erection of this castle. There is no mention of it in Domesday Book. The site on which it stands commands a very important ford—forming a link in the ancient trackways or highways leading into Wales. There are marks of British camps on Penyard Hill, which lies to the south-east, and also on Little Doward Hill, which lies to the north-west—Goodrich stands about half-way between these hills and camps, within sight of both. The traces of British trackways are visible from Alton Court (near Ross) and Merivale to Arbour Hill Lane, behind Old Hill, thence across Goodrich Ford to the Cross Keys Inn. The ford is also in direct line between Ariconium, a Roman station which was situated at Bollatree, and a Roman camp on

Penyard Hill (both in the parish of Weston-under-Penyard) and the next Roman station at Blestium, which occupied the site on which part of Monmouth is built. There was also a Roman camp on Doward Hill. Therefore it is very probable that both the Britons and the Romans held this site as a fortified port to secure the ford—but all traces of their work were destroyed by those who built the castle. The question, therefore, was, Who built the castle, or at what period was it built? The styles of architecture in the different parts now remaining belong to different periods. All authorities are agreed that the keep is far more ancient than the other portions. Mr. King is of opinion that it is Anglo-Saxon, and was built before the Norman Conquest, whereas other writers regard it as pure Norman, and erected after the Conquest—of this there is no record. In the 12th century the keep tower was surrounded by the high buildings and round tower at the corners, probably in the reign of Stephen. In the reign of Edward III. the great hall and withdrawing room, containing pillar and arches, were added or rebuilt. In Henry VI.'s reign further improvements and alterations seem to have been made in the chapel. The writer then dealt with the various lords and possessors of the castle, and concluded with a comprehensive description of the architectural features of these romantic ruins. It is said that it was in the court-yard of Goodrich Castle that Wordsworth met with the little girl who told him "we are seven."

At 2.15 the party left Kerne Bridge station for Symond's Yat, where an excellent luncheon, most ably served by host Davis, was partaken of by upwards of 100 friends at Davis' Hotel. Rain fell heavily during the repast, but cleared off in time to enable the visitors to enjoy a pleasurable afternoon at this most picturesque spot. Under the guidance of Mr. H. Southall a large party rowed down the Wye and visited the little Doward camp, the Bone Cave on the opposite side of the Wye, and other places of interest, while a second party ascended to the camp on the summit of Symond's Yat, to enjoy the view, and walk through the woods to Bicknor church, and thence to Lydbrook Junction. The train left Symond's Yat at 6 p.m. for Lydbrook Junction, *en route* for Newnham and Gloucester. The charming ride through the beautiful Forest of Dean, the interesting visit to Goodrich Court, and the afternoon's holiday among the romantic scenery of Symond's Yat, provided an outing that should take a high place among the many delightful excursions of the Society,

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THURSDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday was the concluding day of this gathering, and at an early hour the members were seen taking a farewell look at the lovely view of the wide silvery reaches of the Severn and the surrounding wooded stretches

and the distant Cotswolds from the churchyard of Newnham. They then proceeded to Hill House for a meeting, at which the following resolutions were passed on the motion of the President :—

RESOLUTIONS.

(1) That the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Moffatt, Mrs. Guise, Sir T. H. Crawley-Boevey, and Mr. Colchester-Wemyss for the kind welcome and hospitality extended by them to the members at Lydney Park, Goodrich Court, Dean Hall, Flaxley Abbey and Westbury Court, respectively.

(2) That the thanks of the Society be given to the Rev. G. A. P. Arbuthnot and the Rev. L. Wilkinson for the permission given by them to the members to visit Littledean and Westbury churches.

(3) That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. F. A. Hyett, Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, Mr. Charles Bathurst, Mr. G. B. Witts, the Rev. Douglas Seaton, Mr. H. Southall, and the Rev. L. Wilkinson, for the help and guidance afforded by them at the White House, Lydney Park, Goodrich Castle, Symonds Yat, and Westbury.

(4) That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. F. A. Hyett, Mr. Sidney E. Hartland and Mr. Fox, for the interesting addresses given by them at the Conversazione.

(5) That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. James Wintle for the loan of his beautiful mansion for the use of the members during the Meeting, and to him and the other residents of Newnham and the neighbourhood for their courteous hospitality in receiving members of the Society as their guests and offering them refreshments at the Conversazione.

(6) That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Keeling for the arrangements (as perfect as they could be) which, as Engineer and Managing Director of the S. & W. and S. B. Railway Co., he made yesterday for the conveyance of the members through the beautiful Forest of Dean.

(7) That the thanks of the Society be given to the Local Committee for their admirable arrangements, and especially to the very able Local Secretary, Mr. Douglas Wintle, for his unflagging exertions on behalf of the members and the eminently successful manner in which he has conducted the Meeting.

(8) That the choice of the Place of Meeting, 1894-5, be left to the Council.

(9) That the selection of President, 1894-5, be left to the Council.

The party then drove through the rich uplands and fruit-laden orchards to Littledean, where a halt was made to visit the church, which has some slight remains of Norman work, and to pass on to the interesting Dean Hall, a quaint, snug little residence, redolent of ghost stories and legends

of the Cromwellian war. Here the party were received by Mrs. Francis Guise, and Mr. Bazeley gave some notes on the attack on the house, and of the legend of the murder of the "black slave with a silver collar," whose portrait with his young master hangs in the room, and whose ghost still haunts the house. Just above the hall, overlooking the Severn, is a small but very perfect round British stronghold, from the embankment of which glorious views are had of the Severn reaches. In the camp Mr. Witts read a short descriptive paper, which was commented upon by Mr. Bazeley and some other members.

Then the party drove along the Roman way, the old border stones cropping up continually on either side of the road, to Flaxley Abbey. At this most interesting residence, Sir Thomas Crawley Boevey and Lady Crawley Boevey received the Society, pointed out the site of the old cloisters and the refectory, now used as a kitchen, and the fine old abbot's room, which is still intact as in the abbey days. Many wished to linger here, but a move was made onwards to Westbury, where, after lunch, a visit was paid to the Court gardens—some fine old gardens with ornamental waters and trimmed yews, once belonging to the Court house, a mansion that has been three times destroyed within 200 years. The church, with its isolated tower, was next examined, and a good paper on its history by the vicar listened to. Among other matters was the record of two cases of sanctuary.

From this village a drive along the Severn shore brought the party to the residence of the President, Mr. Russell Kerr, who, with Mrs. Kerr, received those for whose enjoyment he for the past three days had so courteously worked. After partaking of tea and fruit, many still lingered upon the lawns until the carriages arrived to take all who remained to the Newnham station, thus ending three days that had certainly been enjoyed by all who had ranged themselves under the presidency of Mr. Russell Kerr with the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

THE COURSE OF OFFA'S DYKE IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., F.R.S.A., etc.

We presume that the oldest dated Monument in England is Hadrian's Wall, and that the next in date is Offa's Dyke; for though the boundary dykes in Cambridgeshire and the Belgic ditches in Dorset and Wilts are of greater antiquity, we have no certain knowledge of the dates when they were respectively constructed. Boundary lines admit of a three-fold division. First, there are those which separated the territories of the several British tribes before the inroad of the Romans; secondly, there are those which were made by the Romanised Britons; and thirdly, the march lines thrown up by the Saxons between the territories which they had conquered and those which still remained under British rule. Of this last class was Offa's Dyke.

I have been so frequently asked, "What is Offa's Dyke? and who was Offa?" that I may as well say at once that Offa was a powerful king of Mercia, who reigned from 755 to 794. He was constantly at war, and he and his predecessor, Ethelbald, went far to render the Mercian kingdom supreme throughout England. Of course he was continually engaged in hostilities with the Britons on his borders, and to define their limits and prevent their incursions into his own territories, he raised a bank, or boundary wall, between the two nationalities, reaching from the Severn Sea to the mouth of the Dee, which line the Britons were forbidden to pass under heavy penalties.

The southern portion of this dyke, or boundary, has never been satisfactorily determined. It is said to have been traced from its northern termination to Bridge Solers, on the Wye a few miles above Hereford, where it seems to have

been lost; and our object is its elucidation, so far as it extends through the county of Gloucester.

Before, however, we enter upon our own labours in this particular, it will be well to recall what our predecessors have done in the same cause. Fosbroke would seem to have been the first who entered upon the investigation. In 1831 he wrote: "Offa's Dyke is known to have commenced at Tidenham, but its line from thence to Old Radnor is unknown or undetermined."[1] St. Briavels is only a few miles from Tidenham, and being on a visit there he was informed that the dyke ran through a wood called "The Fence," near Bigsweir Bridge, and that it overhung the Wye and the "Fence Wood" from the northern horn of the crescent in the centre of which stands the Castle of St. Briavels. "Hence," he says, "arises two questions: Firstly, did it cross the Wye to reach Monmouthshire or Herefordshire? or, secondly, did it take a circuitous route along the Gloucestershire side of the river?" He concludes that it did *not* cross the river until it arrived at Monmouth, but followed the bank as far as that town. "In favour of this hypothesis," he says, "it may be observed that two-thirds of the dyke, from Mold, in Flintshire, to Old Radnor, it has been ascertained nearly 80 miles. From Mold to Llangollen it is a gentle curve, and thence to Old Radnor nearly as straight as a Roman road. If the same form and direction were continued, it would," he remarks, "reach the Severn between Caerphilly and Newport, which would be too far westwards. The direct line between Radnor and Tidenham is through Trelech, Grosmont and Breadwardine, in which direction it must have crossed the river twice; but as the remains at St. Briavels show the line of continuation, it must have followed the river down to Monmouth and perhaps have crossed the river at that place, and thence to Grosmont and Breadwardine the line is straight."

In the following year Fosbroke[2] continued his exploration.

[1] Gent's Mag., Vol. CI., part 2, p. 582.

[2] Gent's Mag., Vol. CII., part 2, p. 501.

He says he began at a part of the new road which leads from St. Briavels to Monmouth, because such road bisects the Dyke between a coppice called Margaret's Grove, on the south-east, and Littlewood, another cover, part of a long one skirting the Wye north-west, on the opposite side. In the south-west direction the Dyke forms the boundary between Margaret's Grove and a piece of arable land, on the western side, called Cumbers (? Cambers) land. One-half of it, lengthways, he was told, was levelled about 40 years ago, and the earth scattered about the field. In the wood is an elevated causeway, in places from 10 to 12 feet high and 30 or 40 feet broad. He followed this portion to its termination in a bog, where he lost it. Taking, however, the line south-east towards Tidenham, it apparently went from Margaret's Grove across Dry Piece and fields belonging to Lyndhurst Farm to a place in St. Briavels called Cold Harbour, a denomination of a very archæological character. He proceeded thither and found only a bleak place, which he inferred might have been a British settlement, but without any burrows or other *indicia* than roads running in all directions. Following that which pursued a south-east direction, he saw, about two miles distant, a farm called "Madgets," where there was a Roman Camp; and this, he was told, was about five or six miles from Sedbury, where the dyke began. He then returned to the road where he commenced his exploration, and examining the course of the dyke in the opposite direction, through "Little Wood" or "Fence," he found it in high perfection: an elevated ridge with a ditch on each side, but he did not pursue it.

The next exploration of this southern portion of the dyke was made by Dr. Ormerod in 1841. After referring to the northern portion, he says: "To the south of Monmouth the dyke is said to accompany the Wye on its left bank, and to pass on parallel with it through the coppices below St. Briavels" (referring to Mr. Fosbroke's researches abovementioned) "bearing on the precipitous elevations of Tidenham parish, which commence at a point immediately opposite

Tintern Abbey. On the ridge of these hills, near the joint of Woolaston and Tidenham parishes with Madgett (the Modiete of Domesday)," he says, "my own observations take it up, trending away between the Wye and earthworks and tumuli proved to be Roman by the discovery therein of a sepulchral altar in my possession.

"At this point a lofty and continuous mound, corresponding with the general description of the dyke in its more northern districts, commences and proceeds through the thickets and coppices of Caerswell wood (this is locally called Causey) along the hill-tops to the remarkable rock called "The Devil's Pulpit," and is thence continued over similar wooded elevations, having Tidenham Chase on the left and the low grounds of *Walwere* on the right, to a slade or marshy slope, descending from the Chase to the Wye, at which point the mound ceases.

"Recommencing on the opposite side of the slade, it continues along the edge of the cliff, but in a less perfect form, to Denhill Hill, where it again ceases, having the farm of *Wallhope* in the valley on the left. After this succeed the precipitous crags of Banagor, which continue to the neck of the land joining Llancaut to Tidenham, where earthworks of a different character occur (as hereafter noticed), but which popularly bear the name of Offa's Dyke.

"After this the mound is discontinued along the edge of the lofty precipices of Penmoyle across the top of the slope at Tutshill (which constitutes the present approach to Chepstow), and appears also to have been traversed by the vicinal road from Gloucester to Caerwent; and, subsequently also, along the precipitous Tutshill cliffs, which extend along the Wye to the Pill at Tiler's Marsh before-mentioned.

"At the southern end of these cliffs and opposite to the termination of the Norman walls of Chepstow is a mount, partly natural and partly artificial, resembling those in the earlier course of the dyke in the north, and protecting the landing place before-mentioned; beyond which is an alluvial sea marsh, still liable to overflows, and possibly the site of

an ancient haven. To the east of a small brook contiguous to this mount and pill the dyke recommences, as may be clearly traced, though much of the soil has been carried away, and ascends the opposite slope, tending across the peninsula towards the Severn. It next descends through Pensilvania Orchard in nearly a perfect form, and again rises towards the top of Buttington Hill close to the turnpike road, which forms the boundary of the hamlets of Sedbury and Beachley.

"The dyke next enters Sedbury Park—continuing to be a boundary of the hamlets—and for about 100 yards of open ground bears marks on the northern side of the alterations in its form made by Rupert and Sir John Wintour in 1644. It then enters the site at Buttington Wood, where the thickets of copse-wood were lately removed, and in its descent shows a broad, lofty, and apparently unaltered mound, about 40 feet in width at the base and 12 or 14 feet in height in the centre. At the foot of this descent it crosses a small combe and watercourse, and rising rapidly enters the remains of Buttington Wood, close to a precipice, where (as at Buttington in Montgomeryshire) it again rests on the Severn, overlooking its junction with the Wye in the flat below, being precisely the point assigned by tradition and chronicles for its termination.

"It is observable that in the part here described from personal observation the dyke is not a continuous line, but that it generally occupies a military position on high ground, filling up the intervals between marshy slopes and precipices; and there can be but little doubt that the *limitary line* between Gwent and Mercia at this point was the Wye itself. Tradition considers the intermediate low grounds and projections as former neutral spaces for mutual communication and traffic, and it is observable that Churchyard mentions a similar tradition with respect to the spaces between Wat's Dyke and that of Offa.[1]

(In this connection it is worth noticing that in 956 the

[1] Worthies of Wales, Ed. 1776, p. 104

Beachley peninsula was in part let out to foreign sailors. A grant of the Manor of Tidenham to the Abbey of Bath by King Edwy in that year thus describes the hamlet of Kingston, now known as Sedbury:[1] "At Cinge's tune are v Hides, xiii yardlands let out, and i hide above the dyke which is now also let out, and that outside the hamme is still some part in-land, some of it let out to rent to foreign sailors (scip wealan)."

Here we find mention of Offa's Dyke, and also learn that foreigners were permitted to settle on the land between the dyke and the Wye).

"The projecting promontories are Llancaut, Tutshill and Beachley, anciently Bettesleigh. Llancaut is joined by a narrow neck of land to Tidenham, across which works range from cliff to cliff, consisting of two parallel mounds formed of fragments of limestone, with the convex side of the curve and the ditch towards Mercia. It may be either British, defending the narrow channel near the church below (called by Corbet the Pass of the Wye[2]), or an entrenchment of Danish pirates. Tradition calls it Offa's Dyke, and I incline to consider it a British work, coinciding with Offa's line and left unaltered. Sir John Wintour *intended* to fortify and make good these entrenchments in 1644, but was defeated and driven over the river."[3]

Having thus stated, chiefly in their own words, the results of the labours of previous explorers, I will proceed to give some account of what, with assistance of my friends, I have been enabled to accomplish in the same direction. I may, however, observe, *in limine*, that hitherto I have not attempted more than a preliminary, or tentative, survey. I felt great difficulty in accepting the opinions I have quoted, that from Old Radnor, or from Bridge Solers, the dyke extended in a line, more or less direct, through Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, to some point in the neighbourhood of Mon-

[1] Cartularium Saxonicum, 928. Earle, Land Charters, p. 376.

[2] Corbet, p. 136, in Bibl. Gloucestrensis.

[3] Archæologia, Vol. XXIX., pp. 13-16.

mouth, where it crossed the Wye and proceeded to Madgetts, and thenceforward followed the left bank of the river to Chepstow. It seemed to me that if such were the case a large portion of Herefordshire must have been English ground. This theory is not confirmed by the nomenclature of the district lying between this imaginary line and the right bank of the Wye. I am not prepared to deny that you may find surviving British names in an English district, but the converse is not so common. The nationalities of the people on either side of the river are marked by the prevalence of British names on the right bank of the river and English names on the left. Of the former we have Pencraig, Gannerew, Tretire, Llanberis, etc.; and we have English Bicknor on the left and Welsh Bicknor on the right banks respectively.

With the intention of exploring the course of the dyke northwards from Caerswell Wood, or Causey (Causeway), by which name it is still known by the peasantry of the district, whence to Sedbury it had been traced by Dr. Ormerod, accompanied by my friend, Rev. W. B. Oakeley, I proceeded thither in April, 1880. We soon found the dyke just within the margin of the wood at the top, very plainly developed. We followed its course northwards, first leading in an easterly direction for about a quarter of a mile around the curve of a narrow gorge in the wood. It then proceeded due north through Madgett's Wood for about half a mile further, where it was bisected by a road leading into the wood, showing there a section of about 40 feet wide at the base and about 10 feet high. A short distance further on it suddenly stopped on the verge of a steep declivity. We failed to find any traces of it through the valley at the mouth of which Brockweir is situate; but in ascending the hill on the northern side an old man directed us to a spot where, he said, traces of it might be seen, adding that many years ago he had assisted in levelling it. Here we found the remains of the dyke extending through an open meadow. Having enquired of a boy if he knew of any continuous earthen bank, he replied in

the negative, but eventually said he knew of the "Devil's Rudge" (ridge). He then pointed it out to us in continuation of the remains of the bank which we had previously seen. This was on St. Briavels' Common, which is covered with small cottage enclosures, all encroachments; and though in the clearances which had been made the dyke had been so levelled down as scarcely to be perceptible, its course was traditionally well known to the peasantry, and upon its being pointed out, its course could be distinguished more or less clearly the whole distance across St. Briavels' Common and a place called Hudnells to a house named Blythfield, standing on the brow of the hill above Bigsweir House. Here our exploration ceased for the day.

A further exploration commenced at the place mentioned by Fosbroke where the St. Briavels' Road crosses the dyke in Margaret's Grove. On this occasion I was accompanied by the Rev. W. B. Oakeley and Rev. W. T. Allen, Vicar of St. Briavels. We found the dyke passing in a southernly direction through the Grove in the direction of Blythfield House on the top of the hill to which we had traced it. We lost it in the bog, as did Mr. Fosbroke; but we were not so fortunate as he, for we were unable to trace it through Lyndhurst Farm, etc. Returning again to the road, we pursued it in a northernly direction, through the Fence Wood to Coxbury.

Our next survey commenced at Coxbury, a small farmhouse on the heights above the Wye. We found the dyke here distinctly visible, though lowered by cultivation, across an open field in front of the house. Pursuing a northernly course it had been utilised as a hedge, which extended up to the western side of a rectangular entrenchment known as "Highbury," of which it forms the defence on that side. Passing this fortification, we traced it through the wood to the top of the headland above Lower Redbrook, where it ceased.

It now became a question whether the dyke would follow the course of the river as heretofore, or the boundary

between the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth, such boundary being also conterminous with the boundaries of the Manor and Parish of Dixton, in Monmouthshire. It seemed difficult to understand why a great slice should have been cut off the left bank of the river and attached to the County of Monmouth without some good cause; and considering that it might be accounted for by the dyke taking that course, thereby avoiding a considerable bend in the river, thus dividing the nationalities, and affording a march, or neutral land, for traffic or other purposes. Thinking this not improbable, I considered it would be better, in the first instance, to endeavour to test this theory. Accordingly, crossing the valley, we in the first instance examined the slope of the Forge Wood, but without discovering any trace of the dyke. We then crossed the valley of Upper Redbrook, and striking upon the county boundary, on the eastern side of Duffield, carefully examined the ground and crossed the hill in Bunjups Wood in the hope of intersecting the dyke, but without success.

A few days afterwards Mr. Oakeley and I made a further exploration of the boundary, commencing at the "Double View" at Staunton, but could not find any trace of the dyke. Emerging on the turnpike road, we were informed by a peasant that the "Devil's *Ditch*" lay in the valley—the course of the boundary—below the site of the old toll gate, now removed. The information was not very intelligible, and we thought it best to endeavour to find the dyke in the other direction. We accordingly followed the course of the county boundary, which here was the ancient road leading from Staunton to Monmouth. We followed the boundary line to Broadstone, and examined the ground from thence to Bunjups Wood, where we had left off on the previous occasion, but without any successful result. Then rising to the crest of the hill, we examined that part by the Buckstone back again to Staunton without being more fortunate.

On the next occasion, accompanied by Mr. Oakeley, I explored the whole length of the county boundary from

Staunton to Bellman's Oak without discovering the dyke. From Bellman's Oak the boundary turns at right angles across the wood, in a straight line, marked by a row of young larch trees, to the brook at the foot of the hill near Slaughter, which brook forms the boundary to the river Wye. On this line, just before reaching the brook, we found some rough banks, by no means unlike the dyke, but as they were not *continuous* we could not identify them with it. We then examined Mailscott Wood to Symond's Yat without success, and continued our search with no better fortune through Bicknor Court Woods.

On the following day I recollected having noticed a bank which is crossed by the footpath leading from the "Common Grove" at Bicknor to Lydbrook Junction Railway Station. Accordingly I proceeded to examine it. Before reaching it, I saw in a pasture field appearances as if the dyke had been levelled down, and looking over the hedge into the wood I found a portion of it in high perfection, leading to the bank I had previously noticed. Following its course, I found it still continued through another wood on Stowefield farm. On emerging from this wood it formed a wide woody hedge, being the boundary of the field lying on the eastern side of the railway station above mentioned, and extending to the southern side of the farm buildings at Stowefield. Here the ancient road from Bicknor to Lydbrook crosses it, disclosing a section partly natural and partly artificial. It here forms a striking object against the skyline seen from the entrance to the farm on the new road leading from Bicknor to Lydbrook. From the place last mentioned its course can be traced across the little valley to two new cottages by the roadside, which are built on its site. Behind these cottages, stretching up across the wood, is a portion of the dyke in high perfection, with its ditch on each side, and reaching to an elevation of some 15 or 16 feet. At the top of the hill, following the course of the river, it bends round to the south-east, and is again crossed by the old and disused road to Lydbrook, and is found in the wood on the other side; and

presently it again crosses the road, showing a high broad bank covered with a growth of beech. Passing into an arable field it is lost, but is found again after crossing the railway, forming the south-western side of the ancient road from Bicknor to Lydbrook, which we have referred to above. It ends abruptly against the end of a cottage immediately under the railway viaduct.

Following the course of the river, which at Lydbrook makes one of those windings for which the Wye is so famous, I found the ground where I expected to discover traces of the dyke so very much broken by ancient diggings and by cottage enclosures as to have obliterated all traces of it if it had ever existed. About a mile from Lydbrook I again found indications of it on the slope of the hill about midway between Ragman's Slade and the river; and following the course of these indications I found the dyke sufficiently distinct for identification passing by the turnpike gate on the Ruardean road, and extending along the top of the wood to the elevation above the mansion house at Bishop's Wood. As this forms the boundary between the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, I did not continue the exploration further.

These explorations have not enabled me to lay down the course of the dyke so continuously as could be desired. There are several miles extending from Redbrook to Bicknor in which I have not been able to find any certain trace of it, or even to determine whether between Redbrook and Slaughter it followed the boundary of the county or the course of the river; but, I should add, I have not as yet explored the riverside of the Parish of Dixton. Generally, the line is very broken. It is chiefly in the higher and more firm and wooded lands that it is to be found. In cultivated ground, as might be expected, it is generally destroyed. In crossing the valleys also there is seldom any trace of it. It is probable that in the 8th century, or just 1,100 years ago, when the dyke was made, the bed of the river was higher and consequently the natural drainage more

imperfect; these valleys were so wet and full of sedge and brushwood as to render the making of the dyke impracticable and its use in such situations unnecessary.

Mr. Ormerod's observations show that no traces of the dyke are found on the precipices near Tutshill. Such is also the case on the Gloucestershire side of the Wye from Hadnock to Roseberry Topping at Bicknor, though traces of it may be found from the Common Grove immediately below the topping extending to Lydbrook, as before described. It is not unlikely that these precipices, if marked on the top by some slight bank long since obliterated, sufficed as a line of demarcation. Another point also merits attention. Was the dyke ever completed? We know that Offa was interrupted in his work by the incursion of the Britons, and he may have discontinued it. In some situations we find it as fully developed as if made within a century, when it suddenly ceases, and is only found again, after an interval of a mile or more, following the course of the river just in a like position, reminding one of the works of a railway in the course of construction.

Notwithstanding all the defects and disappointments attending my survey, I have been enabled to establish this important fact—that the dyke did not, from Bridge Solers, stretch across Herefordshire and Monmouthshire to Monmouth, as has been conjectured by my predecessors in this search, but that throughout the County of Gloucester it followed the course of the Wye. It has invariably been found to occupy a site removed from the river at a distance of a quarter- or half-a-mile, of which in all cases it commands a view. This, I think, shows that the river was virtually the boundary between the two races of men; but that as the fishery of the river was retained by the Britons, they were free to cross and re-cross at pleasure in their fishing avocations, but that they were not allowed to cross the barrier of the dyke.

I hope at some future time to be able to make further searches in respect to this interesting monument, and having determined its general course, to make a particular survey

and describe in detail the whole line throughout the County of Gloucester. As my labours have created no small interest throughout the district on both sides of the river, I am not without hope that some of the antiquaries of Herefordshire will take up the survey at Bishopswood and pursue it to Bridge Solers, and thus by uniting it with the northern portion, complete the whole line from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Severn.

CIRENCESTER GUILD MERCHANT.

By the Rev. E. A. FULLER, M.A.

In two articles, printed in the second and ninth volumes of the Transactions of our Society, on "The Tenures of Land" and "The Relation of the Town and the Manor," I drew out at some length the substance of the address which I had given at our Meeting at Cirencester in 1877 concerning the people of that town and their life as townsfolk, from the 12th to the 16th centuries. This was the result of some considerable research among ancient records, very few indeed of which had up till that time been used for that purpose; some indeed had not been available in earlier days, at any rate to the same extent. It has seemed to me lately that the way in which I could best bring before our Society any information, which I had gained by research among ancient documents, would be by the correction in detail of the many errors in the current histories of Cirencester, errors which were due partly to imperfect information through lack of opportunity, but largely to the fatal habit of copying previous writers without adequate enquiry, and then drawing upon the imagination for further items, wherewith to embellish the narrative. I did this respecting Cirencester Castle and some other matters, especially the way in which the name "Cirencester" was expressed in ancient documents, in a paper read at our last Bristol Meeting. I propose to follow it up now in regard to the Illegal Guild Merchant, for which a charter was granted by Henry IV.

In the case of the Castle, the prime source of error was Holinshed, who, in transcribing the old chroniclers, had misprinted Cirencester for Leicester in one instance, and in another Cirencester for Chichester. In regard to the Guild Merchant, Sir Robert Atkyns was the first misleader. He was aware of the suits in the Court of Exchequer in Queen Elizabeth's reign, by which Sir John Danvers, at that time

lord of the manor, obtained the final suppression of the Guild; but he does not appear to have followed up the clues therein given, and examined, at any rate with much care, the earlier records of the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. when the Guild was first established, and then fifteen years later suppressed; nor does he seem to have known anything about the rebellion against the abbot, as lord of the manor, that continued all through the reign of Henry IV. Well this was his story: "Henry IV., in the fourth year of his reign, granted to the town of Cirencester a court of staple for merchandize, whereby there was a corporation erected, of a mayor and two constables and other the commonalty, for the encouragement of trade by the due execution of the Statute Merchant; but in the thirty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, and after a long suit at law in the Court of Exchequer, this charter was decreed to be cancelled."

What Sir Robert Atkyns meant precisely by the phrase "a court of staple for merchandize" does not appear, but he can hardly have intended to say that Henry IV. made Cirencester what was known technically as a staple town, for he referred not to the Ordinance of the Staple of Edward III., but to the Statute Merchant of Edward I. In this respect Rudder simply contented himself with copying Sir Robert Atkyns. But Fosbroke was misled into an assertion about the staple, and the latest historian of Cirencester has amplified the phrase "court of staple" considerably. For when giving, evidently at second hand, a list of towns named in the Ordinance of the Staple in 1353, after Chichester [1] he prints within brackets "Cirencester" with a note of interrogation, suggesting in this way an emendation of the list; and further goes so far as to say that "he is inclined to think that Cirencester must have been one of the favoured staple towns in 1328 and 1332, and that it is Cirencester that is meant, and not Chichester in 1353." But if instead of quoting at second-hand, the writer had referred to the Statutes of the Realm, and attentively read through the first section

[1] Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 200.

of the statute in question, he would have seen that the staple towns, which in the beginning of the section are named altogether in one group, are afterwards divided into two categories, inland towns and seaports, and that "Cicestre" (the language used in French), *i.e.* Chichester, is named among the seaports. Moreover, there are not many Staple Rolls still in existence, but one of the first entries which catches the eye in the earliest of the rolls is the following, of the date July 27th, 1374, *i.e.* 48th Edward III.:—

Officium . .	Rex omnibus, &c.
Pessagii in .	Sciatis quod commissimus dilecto
portu . . .	nobis Johanni Peel de Chichestre
Cicestr' . .	officium pesagii lanarum in portu
Commiss' . .	civitatis nostre Cicestr'.

While there are various entries in previous years relating to the mayor and constables of the staple, and the collectors of customs at the port of the city of Cicestria, and of course none whatever to the town of Cirencester. A reference to the Public Records would have saved mistatements in more instances than one. This of course disposes altogether of the suggestion that Cirencester was one of the staple towns in the reign of Edward III.

Between the Ordinance of the Staple of 27th Edward III. and 4th Henry IV., the date of the charter for the Guild Merchant, there had been sundry alterations made by statute as to the staple towns, *i.e.* the towns where alone there might be dealings in staple goods, such as wool, woolfels, lead, &c., between English and foreign merchants for exportation. The Ordinance of the Staple had removed the staple from Calais to certain English and Irish towns. Before the end of Edward's reign it had been taken back to Calais, and then again removed. In 12th Richard II. it was once more brought back to Calais; but in 14th Richard II. it was transferred from Calais to the English towns as in 27th Edward III., a statute confirmed in the following year, 15th Richard II.; and finally the Act, 21st Richard II., while

not interfering with the dealing for exportation at the established staple towns at home, enacted that all staple goods exported must be brought to Calais. After this there was no statute affecting the staple for a long period. Mr. Beecham's account of this is[1] that "in 1390 the English towns of 1353 regained their staples for a year, but from 1398 (*i.e.* the act of 21st Richard II.) to 1558 (*i.e.* the loss of Calais under Queen Mary) Calais has been stated to have been the only staple, the English ones being disallowed, except that Henry IV. in 1404(3)[2] in consideration of the services of the townsmen of Cirencester granted them a court of staple for merchandise." And a little further on he says that "the charter of 1404(3) enacted in Cirencester the only staple in England." Now here, as before, a careful reference to the Acts of Parliament, which I have quoted, would have shown that the statement was erroneous; while a little research at the Record Office would have proved it in detail. For though there are no Staple rolls now in existence for the reign of Henry IV., yet there are, among the Miscellanea of the Chancery of that period, several bundles of Recognitions of commercial debts taken before the mayors of the staple in the various staple towns, including some taken in 6th, 7th and 8th Henry IV. before the mayor of the staple of the city of Cicestria, *i.e.* Chichester.[3] I need hardly say that there are none taken before a mayor of the staple at the town of Cirencester. Similiarly in later files, there is a long series of appointments to the office of Mayor of the Staple at Chichester, in the early years of Henry VI.

All this varied suggestion about Cirencester being a staple town is pure imagination based simply upon Sir R. Atkyns' loose phrase about a court of staple for merchandize. Moreover, there is not one word in the petition of the men of Cirencester asking for a guild merchant, or in the charter itself granted to the townsmen by Henry IV. in 1403, about the staple, or the statute of the staple, or a staple court, or

[1] Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 200. [2] 1403 is the real date.
[3] Chancery Files, Recognition of Debts in Courts of Staple, Nos. 484, 494.

the officers ordained under the statute of 1353, viz., the mayor and constables of the staple. Nor is there any mention of the staple, or officers of the staple, in the pleadings of the Chancery suit in 1418,[1] when the abbot obtained the annulling of the king's charter of 1403, which though not illegal as against an Act of Parliament, was illegal as contravening the abbot's rights under ancient charters. Neither is there any hint about the staple having been at Cirencester under Henry's charter in the pleadings, when the townsmen attempted in Elizabeth's reign to set up once more the illegal guild merchant.[2] The point is interesting both historically to Cirencester, and archæologically to our Society, in relation to the ancient seal of a mayor of the staple, said to have belonged to the staple at Cirencester. The legend is S(igillum) Majoris Stapul(e) Cicestriensis. This seal, found in possession of a clothier in the Stroud valley, was from him obtained by the late Mr. Richard Mullings, and was presented by Mr. Mullings to the Society at our Cirencester meeting in 1877; the gift appearing in our *Transactions*. But it does not follow because a seal a few hundred years old was found existing in the 19th century within range of Cirencester, that it originally belonged there. And there are two sufficient reasons why it cannot have belonged to Cirencester: first, there never was a staple at Cirencester either enacted by statute or appointed by charter, so that there could not have been a mayor of the staple at Cirencester who would have used such a seal; and second, if there had

[1] County Placita, 48A.

[2] Special Commission, Elizabeth, 885, 959. Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Hilary; 25th Elizabeth, Vol. X., fol. 7. There is a mistatement in Mr. Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 158, owing to his having allowed his imagination to play with an erroneous phrase, used by the clerk who calendered these special commissions, instead of consulting the documents themselves. "The chief officers of the borough" did not "appear at Westminster to support the claim of the municipality habited in scarlet robes." The commission was held at Cirencester by order of the Barons of the Exchequer, nobody wore scarlet robes, and the bailiff, Robert Strange, gave evidence against the guild. (*See* Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. IX., p. 342).

been a staple at Cirencester, the mayor certainly could not have had *Cicestriensis* on his seal. The seal in question belonged of course to the mayor of the staple at Chichester, though it might not be possible after this long period of years to trace the stages of the route by which it arrived in the neighbourhood of Cirencester.

This leads on to the question as to Cirencester having been incorporated in the reign of Henry IV. Sir R. Atkyns' statement has already been noticed.

In the course of the first suit in 1582, mentioned above, reference was made to an Inquisition a. q. d. of 4th Henry IV. Rudder either himself inspected this, or obtained a transcript of about a seventh of it, taken from the earlier portion. This he printed in a translation noteworthy both for a bold alteration, and an impossible translation. There were from the time of Domesday two freemen on the king's manor. In the earliest detailed inquisition of the reign of John,[1] these two are named Erchebald and de Pyrie. De Pyrie's sub-manor had been largely alienated in parcels;[2] so in the inquisition of 4th Henry IV.[3] it was said that on the manor there were two free tenants, William Erchebald "et tenentes Pyrie." This latter phrase was unintelligible to the transcriber, who was ignorant of the previous local history, so he Englished it as if it were "tenens curie," and as if that could be translated "the holder of the court." However, Rudder, after first quoting Sir Robert Atkyns' statement, went on to say that "in consequence of the above inquisition the king caused the town to be erected into a corporation, and made it a separate hundred with two chief constables, whereby it became a distinct hundred." Now all that is mentioned, whether in the Chancery suit of 1418, or in the Exchequer suit of 1582, or in the charter itself, is a guild merchant with its master or governor and other officers. So Sir R. Atkyns was drawing somewhat upon his imagination when he said that "Hen. IV. granted to the town a court of staple for merchandize, erect-

[1] Cartul. Abb., Cir. A., 88b. [2] Testa de Nevill.
[3] Inq. a. q. d. 4th Henry IV., No. 13.

ing a corporation of a mayor and two constables, and other the commonalty." And Rudder followed in the same line when he first copied Sir R. Atkyns' statement, and later on said that "in consequence of the abovementioned inquisition the king caused the town to be erected into a corporation." For this language of itself shews that Rudder had not attentively read through the very long inquisition, but had contented himseif with a transcript of the first part of it; for the jurors declared that it would be in disherison of the crown, and a great wrong to all the king's lieges of Gloucestershire, if the king were to grant the request of the townsmen. It was not in consequence of, but in the teeth of the return made by the Gloucestershire jury, that the king granted the charter for a guild merchant; so that Sir J. Danvers in 1582[1] was justified in saying that he could not believe that the king after that inquisition had granted the charter. No doubt the very conditions of research a hundred years ago, to which I alluded at Bristol, stood in the way of Rudder's obtaining more perfect information.

Rudder's statement has been considerably expanded in the newest history of Cirencester, where it is stated that at Cirencester there was originally a borough with certain defined limits within the parish, and that the townsmen possessed corporate rights which were to remain the same with the abbot as manorial lord, as when the king held the manor for his own use. So the writer, copying Sir R. Atkyns' and Rudder's statement about Henry IV. having erected the town into a corporation with a mayor and two constables, and others, the commonalty, &c., says that this was virtually a restoration of the townmen's ancient rights. This allegation, however, about an original borough at Cirencester seems to be based, not upon any definite legal assertion and proof of it in documentary evidence, or upon collation of the phrases in which Cirencester is spoken of in the manifold ancient documents which still exist, and a comparison of them among themselves and with the expressions used about

[1] Exchequer Bills and Answers, 24th Elizabeth. Gloucester, No. 46.

other places, but first of all by the occurrence of the expressions *burgensis* or *burgus* in three printed documents. Thus the word *burgenses* is loosely used in the charter of Henry I., when founding the abbey, for the townsfolk. So in an extract from the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I., printed by Madox, the same word is used concerning a payment of tallage. Again there was a suit in the Exchequer in the reign of Edward II. The king disputed the right of the abbot to levy tallage of the tenants on the demesne, and the suit was so protracted that parliament was petitioned to quicken up the Barons of the Exchequer. In that petition the word *burgus* is used of Cirencester.[1]

In Vol. IX. of our *Transactions*, I dealt with this subject in some measure. I would now add that the word *burgenses* in the charter and pipe roll has no necessary technical meaning; it is the Latin equivalent for *townsmen*, and carries with it no necessary definite legal assertion. In the beginning of Henry's charter he speaks of the *villa* of Cirencester; later on, when mentioning an exchange which he allowed of two messuages then granted to the abbey for others, he uses the word *burgenses*. But that does not prove the existence of a borough at Cirencester in 1133 against the unchallengeable evidence of Domesday in 1085, unless some charter had been granted in the meanwhile constituting a borough. If the word is supposed to have any technical meaning, it refers in all probability to the two freemen, Erchebald and De Pirie, who held sub-manors on the royal demesne; but there is no record in the Abbey Cartularies of any such exchange. With regard to the Pipe Roll, the habit of expression varies. In the earlier rolls of Henry II., in the entry of the allowance to the sheriff for the regular income of the manor of Cirencester, then temporarily granted to the abbey, the constant expression is *villa*. The entries about tallage become frequent later on, and there the expression used is not constant, sometimes *villata*, sometimes *burgus* or *burgenses*. In the pipe roll, 1st John, indeed you will find both the *villata* and the *burgus*

[1] Rot. Parl., I., 322a.

entered as paying tallage. In Vol. IX. of our *Transactions* I gave an explanation of this which suggested itself to me on the information which I then had; and what I then said still seems reasonable to me, if it is necessary to give a technical meaning to the word *burgus*, as in contradistinction to the word *villa* at Cirencester. But at that time I only knew this double phrase in the pipe roll of one year from the suit of the reign of Edward II., as entered in the abbey cartularies, where the extract appears as one among sundry which were being urged against the abbot by the king's attorney. I have since looked carefully at the pipe roll itself, and I find that Mr. Attorney had somewhat garbled his extracts, for in the original it is not in one continuous phrase, nor do the entries relate to the same tallage. The Pipe Roll is the annual summary of payments into the Exchequer, the details being copied from the returns sent in by the various officials, and varying phrases are used according to their idiosyncrasy. Thus in that same pipe roll of 1st John, under the head of Tallage levied by H. Bardolph and his colleagues, the *burgenses* of Bristol are entered as having to pay 500 marcs, but it is to be accounted for under the head of the Tallage assessed by the Archdeacon of Stafford and his colleagues. Accordingly under that head is an entry that the *villata* of Bristol has to pay 500 marcs assessed by H. Bardolph. So in the various tallage entries of that year, Cirencester is termed *burgus* in one place and *villata* in another, though not, as in the case of Bristol, with regard to the same tallage. Generally speaking, there is one entry only of this kind about Cirencester in a pipe roll; and throughout the earlier pipe rolls, in respect to tallage levied as the phrase runs, sometimes "upon the king's demesne, and the lands then in the king's hands," sometimes "upon the boroughs and townships belonging to the king," the more ordinary expression with regard to Cirencester, though not universal, is *burgus* or *burgenses*, up to 6th John. I take it that the relative importance of the town, and the fact that it was a walled town, led the tallagers generally to use the expression, while it is never

used of smaller royal townships like Newnham. But you do not find the same kind of expression used in the Pipe Roll about Cirencester, as is regularly employed about an undoubted borough like Gloucester. And however often the word *burgus* may be used, it has no historical or legal authority against the sworn verdict of the Cirencester jury before the sheriff on two occasions in the reign of John.[1] For then the condition of the town in this respect during the reign of of Henry II, when that King held the manor himself, is described as universal tenure in villenage, except the two sub-manors of Erchebald and De Pyrie; two tenants also being specially exempt from villein services, holding their land of the lord of the manor by a money payment in lieu of all services. After 6th John, the abbot having obtained by charter[2] the exclusion of the sheriff and officers of the Exchequer from executing their offices within his liberties, the phrase *villata*, which expressed the true legal condition, is always used in the pipe rolls, the returns being made by the abbot's officials.

The expression "*de burgo de Cirencestre ut de ceteris burgis Regis*," in the petition to parliament respecting the tallage suit by the king's attorney, was in all probability based upon the extracts from the early pipe rolls of Richard and John, which were being used by him in that suit. This most likely was not meant to assert anything about a borough (see further on); at the outside, it was only a prosecuting counsel's ordinary enhancement of his case, an *ex parte* statement which assumes all, and possibly more than all, which he wishes to convey to the deciding authorities. The Barons of the Exchequer were directed by parliament to proceed to judgment; but, says the History of Cirencester,[3] "the result is not stated in the parliament rolls." Naturally so. If a member of parliament makes an allegation about some injustice, and the Attorney-general or Home Secretary, promises to see that justice is done, you do not look in Hansard, but

[1] Cirencester Abb. Reg. A., 88a, 88b. [2] Pipe Roll, 6th John.
[3] Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 153.

in the Law Reports, for the result. Just so here; if the Memoranda roll of the Exchequer had been searched, the whole suit would have been found in the roll of Michaelmas 7th Edward II., and it would have been seen that the abbot was cited to answer for having levied tallage in the *villata* of Cirencester to the disherison of the crown; and that there was no question of Cirencester being or not being a borough, though in the pleadings those inconvenient extracts from the pipe rolls of Richard and John were quoted, not however to prove that there was a borough at Cirencester—that was not the point—but to prove that the kings used to levy tallage there to their own use, and to put the abbot upon his defence, to show by what right he now levied tallage there for himself. Judgment of course was for the abbot. That the word *burgensis* in a legal document proves nothing by itself is shown by an entry in the King's Bench roll of Michaelmas 9th Henry III., when, presumably because the Cirencester folk were not amenable to the abbot as lord of the manor, the abbot appealed to the King's Bench, and the cause coming on for trial in the Michaelmas term was adjourned till Martinmas, the abbot naming one of the canons and another man as his representatives, and the *burgenses* two of themselves. When the verdict of the Gloucestershire jury was given, it was declared that the whole tenure, with the same exception named in the reign of John, was in villenage, and that such was the tenure when the manor was in the king's hand before Richard I. granted the manor to the abbot. That there never was a borough within the township is definitely shown also by an inquisition taken in the course of a second suit in the Exchequer about tallage, begun in Michaelmas 16th Edward III., and entered on the Memoranda roll of that year. The suit referred to the abbot's right in past reigns to levy tallage, and the court, wanting to be informed whether the town and manor of Cirencester were always identical, ordered an inquisition upon the oath of eighteen knights and others of the neighbourhood, when it was declared that the manor and township were one and not diverse. In fact, this

stares one in the face in that inquisition of 4th Henry IV., the beginning of which was printed by Rudder, where it is said that the *villa* of Cirencester and the *villa* of Minety with the appurtenances make and are the manor of Cirencester, and were so in the time of King Richard.

Another proof urged is the occurrence in the charter of Richard I., granting the manor to the abbey, of the phrase "*infra burgum et extra*."[1] But that also taken by itself carries no legal assertion of the existence of a borough at Cirencester; it is the ordinary phrase employed in the grant of manorial rights. Thus in the reign of Henry II., Margery de Bohun granted the manor of South Cerney to Llanthony Priory,[2] to be held as Walter the constable and Milo the earl had held it: "Cum soc et sac, etc., *infra burgum et extra*," etc. No one would venture to suggest that this proved South Cerney to have been a borough.

That the townsfolk would feel it as a grievance that they were retained under the control of the lord of the manor instead of obtaining freedom is easy to understand. Everywhere towns were being enfranchised by their lords, or obtaining royal confirmation of their liberties. Gloucester obtained from Henry II. the same franchises as the city of London, and these were enlarged by Richard and John. The Earls of Gloucester enfranchised Tewkesbury; and Cirencester remained—such as it was in the time of Domesday—a manor in villenage, Kings Richard and John having sold the manor to the abbot with all possible manorial rights: hence the constant troubles detailed in Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. IX.

That the Cirencester folk would be continually asserting in one way or another their claim that the town was a borough, and they burgesses of a free town, was to be expected, and possible traces of this appear. Thus in the

[1] Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 87, 152.

[2] Regist. antiq., Llanthony Abbey, A. IX. 1, Nos. 23 and 26. My references are to the Transcripts in the Library at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.

Registrum Antiquum[1] of Llanthony Priory I have found a document of 12th Edward II., contemporaneous therefore with that suit concerning tallage, by which Geoffrey Merston, *burgensis* of Cirencester, agreed to purchase of the prior and convent, for a hundred marcs, their "Coteswolde" wool at the rate of eleven and a-half marcs (*i.e.*, £7 13s. 4d.) the sack, the wool to be only good wool, dry and well cleaned, and to be delivered at Bernyntone, *i.e.* Barrington. It does not necessarily follow that by *burgensis* anything more was intended than townsman. But G. Merston was one of the wealthiest of the Cirencester wool merchants, and was a tenant under the Hospitallers. Still that a Cirencester wool merchant chose to style himself burgess, and that the prior of Llanthony did not choose to dispute the insertion of that style in a commercial deed, does not avail to prove that there was a borough at Cirencester, against the undisputed statement about the condition of the town at that period and from all memory, as recorded in the County Placita, and summarized in Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vols. II. and IX., and the other documents already mentioned.

Of the complaint made to the king in 1342–3, and of the forged charter of liberties then produced, which the townsmen alleged had been given to them his burgesses of Cirencester by Henry I., and of their declaration that there was a borough there separate from the township,[2] I gave a full account in our Vol. IX., as also of their repeated

[1] A. IX. 2, No. 87.

[2] It may be as well to notice that Mr. Beecham has completely misconceived and mistranslated the latter part of the grant to the abbey, by which Edward III. at the conclusion of the suit in 1344, confirmed all that the Canons claimed either by old custom, or previous royal charters. The grant appears among the printed extracts from the Originalia Roll, and only an erroneous English version is given by Mr. Beecham at page 56 of his history. The passage in the Latin grant is as follows:—"Concessimus villam de Cirencestre integre absque eo quod ipsi pro aliquo Burgo decetero in Cirencestre per nos vel heredes nostros aliqualiter impecianter." That is to say: "We have granted the town of Cirencester wholly, so that they (the canons) shall not hereafter be impeached in any way by us or our heirs concerning any borough in Cirencester."

complaint and re-assertion of their old false averments at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV.

No good, however, came to the townsmen from this fresh complaint, though they waited for three years, and it was under these circumstances that in 1403 the townsfolk petitioned the king to grant them a charter for a guild-merchant.[1]

The petition itself[2] is of considerable length, in law French, and of course with numerous repetitions of identical phraseology; but the following is a complete summary of the various requests contained in it. They asked to have a guild-merchant, and hold it of the king as his free guild, they to be the king's freemen; to have power yearly on the morrow of the Epiphany[3] to elect a mayor and bailiffs of the guild, and sergeants at mace, and other officials at their will, to govern the guild and its members, and all residents within the limits of the guild, *i.e.*, the town; to be free of all county, hundredal, and other claims as subordinate to others; to have the execution of writs and summonses; not to be constrained to appear outside the guild except for matters affecting the king; to have power freely to bequeath and convey their houses and lands as free men in a free borough; to plead all their own suits concerning land or houses or trade in their own guild court, with a power of appeal to the king's justices; to have their own guild court of petty sessions like the courts of justices of the peace and labourers in the county of Gloucester; to have control of markets, with their own court for recognition of debt, according to the statute of Acton Burnell; and that all fines levied for false weights and measures, &c., and all court fees, should belong to the guild; to have their own coroner; to be the king's eschetors for Cirencester; and not to be obliged to fight legal duels. They asked, in fact, that nearly all the rights and privileges which the kings had enjoyed as lords of the manor, and had

[1] Inq. a. q. d. 4, Henry IV., No. 13. [2] See Appendix I.

[3] *i.e.*, the anniversary of the suppression of the rebellion of the Earls in 1st Henry IV.

conferred upon the abbots, either with the manor or by subsequent charters, should now be taken away from the abbots and transferred to themselves. Then was taken that long inquisition concerning the abbots' rights, a small portion of which was printed by Rudder, and which is given in full in the Appendix to this paper.[1]

This inquisition recites the royal foundation of Cirencester abbey, and the grant of the manor of Cirencester and Minety with the seven hundreds, by Richard I., with all possible rights of jurisdiction; that the annual assized rents received by the abbots amount to £143 4s. 8d., paid quarterly, under penalty of distress if the rents were in arrear; that the seven hundreds were as one hundred and had always been so, the court being held every three weeks at the Tolselde in Cirencester, and that the annual profits to the abbots were £40; that Abbot John pays the £30 fee-farm rent, received under Richard's charter, to the Earl of Kent, but as the reversion belongs to the crown, the grant of these privileges, liberties, franchises, and immunities, would be in disherison of the crown; that the abbots hold certain lands and tenements in the town called Wyggewoldesfe, held of the crown as of the earldom of Hereford;[2] that the whole profits of the town of Cirencester are worth to the abbots 200 marcs a year, which belong to the king in times of vacancy; that King John granted the abbots a fair at the feast of All Saints, to last eight days, and King Henry III. granted a similar fair at the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr in the manor of Cirencester, and that the abbots had always received reasonable toll at those fairs, which were worth £10 a year to the abbots; that Cirencester is of ancient demesne, and that with the exception of the two free tenants William Erchebald and the tenants of Pyrie, all tenants on the manor of Cirencester and Minety, hold by enrolment in the abbots court, and cannot transfer or inherit land or tenements but

[1] Appendix II.

[2] The Manor of Wigwold within the parish of Cirencester had been separated off from the royal desmesne while it was held by William Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford, in the reign of William I. See Domesday.

by surrender and delivery in court at arbitrary fine; that all such tenants owe to the abbots three days' work in haytime and harvestide, and that all these customs were worth annually £30 to the abbots; that under King Richard's charter the abbots had always held their manorial court every three weeks, and their view of frank pledge twice a year, with assize of bread and beer, measuring of corn, &c., and all that belongs to the view of frankpledge, with pleas of distraint; that all tenants in Cirencester and Minety are bound to do suit every three weeks to the court of the manor, and all tenants and residents must do suit to the view of frankpledge twice a year; that the abbots have return of the king's writs, with custody of prisoners, and the right to tallage their tenants in Cirencester when the king levied tallage; that from the date of Richard's charter all tenants have had to bring their pleas concerning land in the abbot's court, according to the custom of the manor, and that the yearly profits of the court to the abbot are 20 marcs; that the abbots have always levied fines, &c., due to the king, and answered for them to the Exchequer; that from the time of Richard's charter the abbots have held two weekly markets, on Monday and Friday, and levied reasonable toll, as is contained in the charter of Edward III., with their court of piepoudre, and that the annual profits have been £3 6s.; also that the Prior of Llantony has £1 16s. 10½d. of assized rent in Cirencester, with his own court; and William "Archebaund" has £10 of assized rent in Cirencester, with his own court; and that William Rye, lord of Wyggewold, has £1 10s. of assized rent with his own court; and that the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England have £5 rent in Cirencester, with their own court, of which the profits yearly are 6s. 8d.; also that the Prior of Bradenstoke has £1 1s. rent in Cirencester, with his own court, the profits of which are worth yearly 6s. *The following lines of the MS. dealing apparently with the special damage done to the above-named are very worn and faded, but the inquisition finished thus:*—"That it would be a grievous damage and prejudice

to all the king's lieges of Gloucestershire, and all other his lieges, traders, and others passing through Cirencester, if the king were to grant to the men of Cirencester all and several the privileges and immunities named in their supplication."

That the King should, after this inquisition, grant the men what they asked was impossible; in truth he had no right to grant them a single item of their requests, and the Court of Chancery, in the beginning of the next reign, quashed the charter which Henry IV. had given, granting them some part of what they had asked. In 1403, however, the king did illegally grant them a charter for a guild merchant,[1] which is entered in the Abbey Cartulary A f. 11 b., with this heading in Latin: "Gild Merchant, which was revoked before Sir William Hankford, Chief Justice of all England, in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth." The original enrolment is not in either part of the regular patent roll of 4th Henry IV., but in an odd roll containing various entries during the years 1–11th Henry IV.[2] It is curious that though this charter was 5th Henry V. decreed to be altogether annulled as contrary to law,[3] yet it was not voided on the roll, possibly for the very reason that it did not appear on the ordinary roll of 4th Henry IV., and so it came to pass that the townsfolk in the reign of Elizabeth were able to get an exemplification, and a royal confirmation, which appears on the Confirmation Roll 31–37th Elizabeth.

Stripped of its verbiage, the following are the several liberties granted by the charter: The king considering what is due from him, and thinking of the great affection which the men of Cirencester in many ways showed to him when he undertook the government of the kingdom, grants them the following liberties and immunities: they may establish a Guild Merchant, with its franchises, and every year on the morrow of the Epiphany elect a Master,[4] and such other officers to govern the guild as they may choose; they are to

[1] Appendix III.

[2] There is a copy of it entered in the Little Red Book of Bristol.

[3] Chancery County Placita, Gloucestershire, 47 B.

[4] *Magistrum*, a Master: not *Majorem*, a Mayor.

be free of suits to shires and hundreds; the master or governor of the guild, with a clerk to be appointed for the purpose, may hold a court for the recognizance of debts according to the Statute of Acton Burnell, and they are to return any recognizances taken under their seal into Chancery; they may have assize of bread and beer and other victuals, with measuring of corn and weighing of wool; they may levy fines for trespass against market rules for the benefit of the guild. The date is 14th July, 4th Henry IV.

It is clear enough what the folk might do under the authority of this Charter if it were legally granted. They might establish a Guild Merchant, and elect a *magistrum—i.e.* master of it,—who would have power to control the trade of the town, who might have his own court for the recovery of trade debts, and levy fines there for the support of the guild. It thus deprived the abbot of his market rights and dues, including the fines at his Piepowder Court; and, further, it freed the men from doing suit to the Hundred Court of the abbot, as lord of the seven hundreds, for the hundred of Cirencester, giving them instead a Hundred Court of their own. Had this grant been legal, the Guild Merchant might have become in after years, as happened in some other places, the centre round which further franchises were developed, until the townsfolk had obtained the whole jurisdiction of the town themselves. But in itself the Charter did not affect this. There is not a word of a mayor or the general governance of the town. It did not affect the relation of the men to the abbot as lord of the manor in regard to the governance of the town; and four years later—that is four or five years before they returned into their obedience in regard to villein services, and ten years before the guild was suppressed—they began again to attend the lord's half-yearly halimot, from which the ordinary police administration of the town took its origin.[1] Nor did the Charter have any special relation to the woollen trade and the staple. The weighing of wool brought to market was one of the ordinary

[1] County Placita, 1 Hen. V., 48 A.

rights of the lord of a manor, who had a grant of fairs and markets. Under the third section of the Ordinance of the Staple any merchant, English or alien, might buy wool where and of whom he liked—as we have seen Geoffry Merston buying the Prior of Llanthony's wool in 1319—so long as, if for exportation, it was brought to the staple for special weighing, with the view of paying the customs' duty, and only alien merchants might act as exporters. But there is no mention here of the staple in any way, nor could the Ordinance of the Staple be read into the Charter. Where Sir R. Atkyns got his court of staple, with a mayor and two constables, and others the commonalty, is at first not easy to see. The only documentary mention of the existence of a mayor of any sort at Cirencester at that period of which I am aware is in a pedigree of the family of Strange contained in Camden's visitation of Gloucestershire as herald in 1623, now among the Harleian manuscripts.[1] In that Robert Strange, M.P. for Bristol in 1484, is said to have been the third son of Strange, mayor of Cirencester. Fosbroke, quoting this, and relying no doubt upon the confident statement of Sir R. Atkyns about the court of staple and the mayor and constables, added to the word mayor as an explanation "of the staple that is." But a family story about an ancestor, who lived two hundred years earlier, told to a herald, is of no weight against the witness of documents contemporary with the period of which the story is told. Nor would Camden's authority add any weight to the family story which he inserted in the pedigree, unless he took more pains as a herald in investigating statements about ancient days, than he seems to have done in respect to the stories which he told in his *Britannia;* for there, in respect to Cirencester Castle and Kidderminster Church—the only two instances where I have had occasion to test his accuracy,[2]—he copied erroneous statements made by Holinshed and

[1] Harl. MS., 1543.

[2] For Cirencester, see vol. XV. of our *Transactions;* for Kidderminster, vol. XVII.

Leland without inquiry into their authenticity. Thomas Strange was one of those who was accused by the abbot in 1415 of having aided and abetted the customary tenants in their rebellion throughout the reign of Henry IV., and his name therefore appears among those who needed to receive the king's pardon.[1] The name Strange does not appear in the list of Cirencester folk a hundred years earlier in the lengthy Gloucestershire subsidy roll, 6th Edw. II.; but before the suppression of the abbey Mr. Robert Strange was bailiff of the town under the abbot. It may be that Thomas Strange, in Henry the Fourth's reign, was of sufficient importance to have been chosen master of the guild part of the time while it lasted, and that during the course of the two succeeding centuries this got magnified among his family descendants into a mayoralty. But in the Chancery suit for the suppression of the guild in 1418 no person is named, nor is any office mentioned but that of the *Magister Gilde*. Most probably Sir R. Atkyns' incorrect statement is due to the rather superficial examination of lengthy documents—and such are those connected with this Merchant Guild—which was all that he could afford to give in preparation for a work covering such a quantity of ground as a county history. He saw the word *mayor* in the first few lines of the men's petition, and he saw also elsewhere a mention of the grant of separate hundred rights, with the court under the statute of Acton Burnell. Now the statute merchant of Acton Burnell (11th Edw. I.) only provided for towns where there was a mayor. The confirming and amending statute (13th Edw. I.) enlarged the powers to the mayor or other chief warden of a city, or another good town which the king shall appoint. It also provided for the application of the statute to all fairs by the keeper of the fair. Probably Sir R. Atkyns did not refer beyond the original statute of Acton Burnell, and hence compounded his sentence about a Corporation with a mayor and two constables, who would represent respectively the jurisdiction of the town and hundred.

[1] Pat., 1 Hen. V., pars. 5, m. 9. [2] Chancery County Placita, 47, B.

It is not very wonderful when a learned county historian made a statement like this, and apparently on official documentary authority, that succeeding writers should take for granted that it expressed the truth, and should copy it. Only, unluckily, not to have seen the documents gives such an opportunity for romance, and Rudder let his fancy run wild about what he considered was the new creation of a separate Cirencester town hundred. He does not seem to have been aware that Cirencester, as a manor of royal desmesne, was always a separate jurisdiction from the adjacent hundred, with a hundred court of its own. Well, he was struck by the fact that the abbey precincts in the north-eastern quarter of the town, though touching the main thoroughfare of the town, were not counted as part of the town, but belonged to the hundred of Crowthorne, and he thought that he found the explanation in this supposed charter of incorporation. He had not seen the charter, nor did he in reality know in the slightest degree what steps the abbot had taken about the charter; but he told his readers that "Henry IV. erected Cirencester into a corporation and made it a separate hundred, with two chief constables, whereby it became a distinct jurisdiction. Before this the entire hundred was the property of the abbot, who was probably displeased at its being thus dismembered. And though he could not withstand the King's pleasure, had sufficient interest to procure that the abbey and its precincts should go with the neighbouring villages, and with them be considered as a distinct hundred." Rudder's fancy about the restriction in the area of the town in consequence of the guild charter is still current, and has received further elaboration; for the newest history of Cirencester says:[1] "It would appear, however, that the newly constructed borough was reduced in extent, for the previous limits were almost unquestionably coincident with the space enclosed by the Roman wall, if indeed some portion of the parish were not included; but in the readjustment of boundaries the old line was only followed along the western side of

[1] Beecham's *Cirencester*, p. 157.

Sheep Street. One reason for reducing the extent of the borough may have been that the maintenance of the wall and fortifications was felt to be an unnecessary burden on the inhabitants; certainly they began to be destroyed about this time; but another and more potent reason may have been the opposition of the abbot, who as Rudder puts it, &c.," "Thus the Abbey, Almery, Spitalgate, The Barton Grange, and other outlying parts were excluded." And in Mr. Beecham's plan of the Old Abbey the "boundaries of the town or borough hundred since 1403" are marked. Now this again is all pure imagination. The township of Cirencester was the inhabited portion of the royal manor of Cirencester, and had no relation to the area of the parish of Cirencester, or to that of the old British and Roman walled town. The tything of Chesterton, which begins at the bottom of Cricklade Street, along the line of Querns Lane and part of Lewes Lane, was formed into a separate manor before the Conquest, and at that time was held by Alwi. After the Conquest it was granted to W. de Baderon, whose family took the name, from other property, of De Monmuthe, and who held it till the thirteenth century, when they sold it to the Langley family.[1] At no time within historical record did Chesterton form part of the township of Cirencester. Accordingly in the detailed Subsidy Roll of 6th Edward II., *i.e.*, 1313, Chesterton and Wigwold and Baunton, all part of the parish of Cirencester as it then existed, are entered under the hundred of Crowthorn, while the town of Cirencester is entered separately by itself before the hundred of Crowthorn begins. The Spyringate tything, including the site of the present houses at the Beeches, was then altogether rural, as was also the Barton tything on the north-west, with the exception of the original mills by the Barton, which, as belonging to the manor of Wigwold[2] were not, of course, any longer included in the royal manor, when once the two hides

[1] Harleian MS., 7. It was not the lord of the manor of Chesterton either who was the freeman named in Domesday, but the lord of the manor of Wigwold. [2] Monasticon, iii., fol. 21-23.

forming the Wigwold estate had been separated off from the manor by William Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford, in the Conqueror's days.[1] The houses along the streets, with their gardens and a few paddocks, were the limits of the township. Thus the southern end of the old enclosure within the walls was not part of the town, because one portion of it belonged to the manor of Chesterton, and the other portion, though belonging to the king, was altogether rural and uninhabited; while on the other hand the town stretched outside the old walled enclosure, on the north along the Gloucester Road, first named St. Lawrence Street and later called Gloucester Street, and on the north-west along the Stroud Road, which within the town was called Ingthorpe, or Inchthorpe, or Inchthrope Street, and later on Cecily Hill. With two exceptions all the habitations along the roads and streets of the town were included in the township. Along the western line of the town boundary was the royal castle; this, of course, was outside the town jurisdiction, and the inward curve of the boundary in Park Lane marks its position. On the eastern side of the town, to the north of the parish church, and with its precincts running right up to the main central thoroughfare of the town, was the abbey. This too, as being a distinct jurisdiction, the abbot having *soc et sac*, was outside the township of Cirencester considered as a royal manor, and was also extra-hundredal. The abbot would have appeared by himself, or his representative, in the county court, as lord of a separate franchise. The township of Cirencester, as a hundred by itself, would have appeared by twelve men. And by twelve men, therefore, the town of Cirencester appeared before the justices of assize when that system began, and the names of the twelve men are entered in the various assize rolls of Henry III. and Edward I., along with the other twelve men who represented the adjacent hundred of Cirencester and Crowthorne. The abbey at no time formed part of the township of Cirencester. Accordingly,

[1] Wigwold was held of the Earldom of Hereford. Inq. a. q. d., 4th Henry IV., No. 13.

when, after the dissolution, the site of the abbey became the site of dwellings for laymen, and the town of Cirencester was made a Parliamentary borough, the question came up, at last in 1708 at a disputed election, as to the right of those dwelling in the old abbey precincts to votes for the borough. The answer, of course, was that the abbey never was within the township, and, therefore, that Mr. Master and his tenants within the precincts must go with the county. But this was only the continuance of what had always been the condition of the town, and has no relation whatever to the charter of Henry IV. to the townsmen, and the mythical incorporation.

Similarly Mr. Beecham has expanded Sir R. Atkyns' statement in relation to the town itself, for he says that "the borough, reconstituted by Henry IV., was divided into seven wards, and two wardsmen were appointed for each." Further on he says that "the offices of the two high constables and fourteen wardsmen, granted under the charter of incorporation,[1] are still retained, but since 5th Henry V. they have been appointed at the November court leet." And again he says that from that date, "before the dissolution of the Abbey, the abbot's bailiff took the place of the mayor." But there never was a mayor. The two high constables are the two officers ordered by the statute of Winchester, 13th Edward I., to be appointed in every hundred and franchise, and were appointed at the court leet in Cirencester as much before as after the reign of Henry IV. The wards are the survivals of the old tythings within the town, in which all residents in the days of frank-pledge were bound to be enrolled, and the wardsmen are the modern representatives of the tything-men. The abbot's bailiff held the same position before as after the men's rebellion, before as after the charter for the guild merchant: the abbot's accusation in 1413 being that whereas the whole jurisdiction of the town was under his officers, the men had withdrawn their

[1] Of course this is all imagination, Mr. Beecham had not seen the Charter.

obedience. The abbot's seneschal or steward was the legal officer of the manor and presided in the courts, the abbot's bailiff was the executive officer of the manor, before as well as after the reign of Henry IV.

The history of Cirencester differs considerably from that of most towns of similar importance in those days, for the greater number of them obtained from their lords charters of franchises. Township after township was changed into a borough. The Cirencester folk were not so fortunate. Much as they longed for it they never attained it; and except during those years of rebellion against the abbot's authority in the reign of Henry IV.—which they did not attempt to justify when arraigned before the Chief Justice 1st Henry V. —they never escaped from the jurisdiction of their lord. The still existing condition of partial subordination to Earl Bathurst's officers, in matters not affected by modern legislation, is the survival of a state of things that has existed continuously, though formerly with greater stringency, ever since the time when any detail of Cirencester appears in history.

I am sorry that a great deal of this article, as of that on Cirencester castle in Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. XV., and on the Grammar School and Hospitals in Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. XVII., has had to take the form of criticism, and this not only of books of former days, but also of a history of Cirencester lately published. For in many respects this shows great industry, and will be of permanent value, like Rudder's *History of Cirencester*, in regard to recent discoveries of Roman remains and antiquities, with the drawings given of them, and as recording the present condition of the town. But, unluckily, I have found it to be so erroneous and untrustworthy, throughout the period over which my researches have extended, as to necessitate a categorical refutation. And there was no other way in which I could put upon record, with such a hope of permanence, a detailed correction of mis-statements, so that they might not again be repeated, whenever in a future

generation a new history of Cirencester comes to be written. The Transactions of our Society will, I hope, have that result generally with respect to local history in Gloucestershire.

There are two other erroneous statements about Cirencester in the fourteenth century made in the recent history which require correction, the authority for which is given as "Extracts from abbey registers by S. Gael, Esq." I do not altogether understand how Mr. Gael can have made such a mistake in details, unless in his old age he wrote from memory of what I had drawn his attention to, when some years before I was carefully transcribing the complaint of the townsfolk made to Edward III. in 1343. He wanted to see me, and I had hoped to have been able personally to bring the mistakes under his notice when I next went to Thirlestane House; but the next time I went there unfortunately I missed seeing him, and circumstances prevented my going there again for more than two years, by which time he had passed away. The mistakes to which I refer are these: "That in 1308 the townspeople preferred charges against the abbot that he had abated the court of the provostry, and made the burgesses do suit in his own court." There was no complaint made in 1308; but one of the charges made in 1343 was in regard to what the abbot was alleged to have done in 1308. Again, "in 1343 the burgesses obtained a charter of franchise, which was procured by the abbot by a trick, and then burnt under his directions." This is on the face of it erroneous. No one would presume to burn a charter just given by Edward III.; it would have been useless also to do so, as a fresh exemplification could be immediately obtained from the Rolls in the Treasury. If the new charter was illegal, it would have to be annulled in due course of law, as was the case with the guild charter. But it would be a different matter when a charter was produced which had never been acted upon, and which was said to have been granted 160 years earlier, in the reign of Henry I., before the system of enrollment had begun. The abbot, knowing that it was a forgery, no doubt thought the best way to get rid of it was to burn it. This, again, as

stated before,[1] was one of the charges made by the townsfolk in 1343; viz., that Abbot Clereband in 1292 had, by a trick, procured and then burnt a charter of franchises given by Henry I. to them as his burgesses of Cirencester.

APPENDIX I.

Inq. a. q. d. 4 Henry IV. No. 13.

A nostre tresredoute trespuissaunt tresexcellent H. nostre tres souverain seigneur le Roy.

Supplient tres humblement vos pouvres lieges de la ville de Cirencestre, Que pleise a vostre treshaute seigneurie de vostre grace special grauntier donner et establier a vostres lieges et a leur heirs et successours une Gilde marschaunte ovesque les libertes ffraunchises et privileges desubs escript; cest a savoir qils puissent avoir tenir et enjoier la dicte Gilde marschaunt deins la dicte ville de Cirencestre as toutes tems come vostre fraunc gilde de vous et de vos heirs; et que les dicts suppliants et leur heirs et leur successours en recorde deins la dicte Gilde soient as toutes jours vos ffraunckes homes et les ffraunkes homes de vos heirs; et quils lour heires et successours suisdits en leur temps successive purroient chescune an as touts les lendymans del Epiphanie assembler en certein lieu deins la dicte ville par eulx alimitez, et illeoques par leur comune assente et accorde de novell faire ordeigner Mair et Baillifs de mesme la Gilde et Sergeaunts de Mace et autres ministres taunts et tiels come leur semblera necessaires pour la gouvernance de dicte Gilde et des dictes suppliants leur heirs et successours suisdits et daultres Recciaunts de deins la dicte Gilde et les limites dicelle; et qils leur heirs et successours avauntdits as toutes jors soient ffraunkes et quites de toute maniere suites as shires hundredes et wapentakes de mourdre de haroun et daides de viscounts et des fforestiers et de lour Bailiffs et de toutes aultres choses a eulx appertanaunts et de guardes et des oeverages de chastelles et de tolne pontage passage pannage lestage layage stallage murage fossage cariage pesage chemin-

[1] For the details, see Cirencester Town and Manor in Trans. of Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. IX.

age et de toutes leur biens choses et marchaundises queconques deins votre Roiaume Dengleterre et aillours permy tout votre povair tant deins ffraunchises come dehors et tant par terre come par meare; et qils leur heirs et successours suisdits as tout temps avenir ne soient artez destreintez ne compellez de venir hors du dicte Gilde pur ascuns plees querelles assissez Jurez recogniscaunces ou inquisiciens quelconques apprendrez sinon qils toucherount vous ou vos heirs; et qils lour dicts heirs et successours suisdicts ascune temps avenir devant les Seneschall et Mareschall de vostre houstiels ou de vos heirs pur assisse de payne et de cervois deins mesme la Gilde et limites enfraints ou pur austres trespaces quelconques illeoques hors du verge devant la venue des dicts Seneschalls et Mareschalls as dict Gilde faites ne soient molestez empeschez ne grevez; et qils et lour dits heirs et successours as touts jors lour terres et tenements et austres possessions de deins la dicte Gilde et limites dicelle come lour chateulx en lour testament ou lour darrain volontez donner assigner grauntier ou deviser purroient a quelconque persone que lour plerra come en ffraunc Burgh; et que les Mair et Baillifs du dicte Gilde pur le temps esteants as tous jors oient retorne de vos briefs de tout temps mys en recorde deins la dicte Gilde et des briefs de vos heirs, et auxi que les Maire et Baillifs avauntdits oient somones extractes et preceptes de vostre Escheqer et l' Escheqer de vos heirs et des extractes et preceptes de vos Justices et des Justices de vos heirs tant as plees de fforest come as comunes plees, et daultres Justices de vous et de vos heirs queconques, et auxi attachements tants de les plees de la corone que daultres plees queconque deins la dicte Gilde ou les limites dicelle; et que les dits Maire et Baillifs pur le temps esteant par lour officers et ministres deins la dicte Gilde limites oient execucion des mesmes le briefs somones extractes et preceptes, issuit que nulle Viscount Baillifs ou aultres ministres de vous ne de vos heirs la dicte Gilde ou les limites dicelle entre pur faire ascune office ou ascune chose soun office touchaunt sinon en de faute des

dits Maire ou Baillifs ou de lour officers ou ministres; et que les dits Maire et Baillifs pur le temps esteaunts as touts jours oient coniscaunce de toute maniere de plees de terres tenements et aultres possessions appurtenants a les dits suppleants du dicte Gilde et les limites dicelle, tant dassisse de novel disseissin de mordauncestre certificatiouns et atteints come daultres queconques plees roiales et personeles, auxi coniscaunce de toute maniere plees de dettes trespaces couvenants detenues prise des deniers et de toutes aultres causes querelles et contractes queconques appurtenants al dite Gilde et les limites contingents ou emergents per temps devant les dictes Maire ou Baillifs pur le temps estaunts; et que le Maire et Baillifs pur le temps estaunts leur officers et ministres susdits deins la dicte Gilde et limites oient pleine poair et auctorite d'attachier par corps ceaux qui ne soient suffiecants en tielx actions de dette trespaces detenues covenants prise de deniers et toutes aultres causes et contractes faits ou a faire deins la dicte Gilde et limites contingents ou emergents queux en ascune maniere purroient estre inquisitives et terminables devant Justices de peas de laborers et artificers si pleinement et entierement come Justices de peas de laborers et artificers en le Counte de Gloucestre devant ces hoeures avoient ou exercoient; et quils et leur dits heirs et successours as touts jours soient quites absolutes et deschargez des eschapes de traitors larons felons et futyfs et de touts aultres prisoners du dicte Gilde et limites dicelle; et que le dict Maire pur le temps estaunt as toutes jours soit votre eschetour et eschetour de vos heirs a faire ou exercer a la dicte Gilde et limites en tout ceo qual office del eschetour appurtiendra, issuits que nulle aultre Eschetour de dicte Gilde et limites a vous ou a vos heirs come leschete respoignent annuelement a votre eschiquier et al eschiquier de vos heirs et successours; et quils leur heirs et successours suisdits as toutes jours oient ceste liberte que nulle de eux emplede aultry soit devant vous ou devant ascune de vos justices ou devant vos heirs ou devant ascune des Justices de vos heirs hors du dicte Gilde des terres tene-

mentes biens et chateulx contractes et covenaunts ou aultres possesions quascun deaux de la dicte Gilde teignent ne pur ascune trespasse fait deins la dicte Gilde et limites, mais si ascune del dicte Gilde ou ascune aultre, pur terre ou ascune aultre fraunc tenement appurtenant ales gentz de mesme la ville et Gilde et limites dicelle estaunt a demaunder, ou sur ascune trespasse fait en affaire appurtenant a ascune de cette Gilde et limites, vourra pleder pursue son droit et querele devaunt les Maire ou Bailliffs du dicte Gilde pur le temps estaunt et si le parole devaunt eaux ne pourra estre terminez, a la suyte del pleintif devant vos justices ou les justices de vos heirs proschein irraunts en la dicte ville et non pas dehors ou devant vos justices ou les justices de vos heirs et ceo speciaulement a deputez soit terminez; et que les hommes du dicte ville Gilde et limites lour heirs et successours suisdits en nulle temps avenir ne soient convicts par ascunes foreines sur ascune appelle injuries rettes trespaces crymes chalanges ou demaundes a eux myses ou emettez mais soulement par leur gentz du dicte Gilde; et que les hommes suisdits du dicte Gilde leur heirs et successours suisdits par leur comune assent purrount chescune an a touts jours lendyman del Epiphanie faire et ordeigner de novell un coroner pour faire et exercer deins la dicte Gilde et limites tout ceo q'al office de coroner appurtient; et que le dict Maires et Baillifs pur le temps estaunts et une clerc par le dicte maire et Baillifs ordeignez ou deputez oient a tous jours pleine pouvair et auctorite de Receyver deins la dicte Gilde et limites quelconques recogniscaunces de dette entre marschaunt et marschaunt selont la fourme del estatuyt fait pour marschaunts al Acton Burnell, et que les dictes Recogniscaunces soient effectuelx, et quils purrount pur yceste cause ordeigner une seal ceo tiel come lour pleura deviser et de certifier en vostre chauncellerie et en la chauncellerie de vos heirs soubs mesme le seal come appurtient en ceste cas; et que les dictes Maire and Baillifs pur le temps estaunts deins la dicte Gylde et limites tant en la presence de vous et de vos heirs come en absence de

vous et de vos heirs touchaunt as gentz du dicte Gilde assisse de payne et de cervois et de toutes aultres maniere de vitailles, et la garde et lassisse des mesures poyses et de toutes aultres manieres de choses al office du clerc du market de vous et de vos heirs appurtenants ou regardaunts oient et exercent a touts jours, et les trespassours de mesme lassisse de payne et de cervois et daultres vitailles en due maniere puissent punyfer, et les defaultes des dictes mesures poyses et daultres choses al clerc del market appurtenants redressent corrigent et amendent en vostre absence et en absence de vos heirs, et que touts les profaits ent proveignaunts en descharge et supportation de les coustages que lour covyendra. . . . . temps faite pour la meilloure gouvernance du dicte Gylde, et daultres charges al communaltie du dicte Gylde lours heirs et successours suisdits encumbents, soient as dicte Maire et Baillifs pur le temps estaunts; et que les dicte Maire et Baillifs pur le temps estaunts en descharge et supportaunce suisdits oient a touts jours touts fynes pur trespaces et aultres mesfaits queconque pur queconque cause proveignants et auxi issues forfaits de touts les dictes gentz de dicte ville et Gylde et limites et de touts les dites heirs et successours et aultres Receaunts deins mesme les ville Gylde et limites suisdits; et que les dits Maire et Baillifs pur le temps estaunts as touts jours oient Weyfe et Estrayes et chateulx de futifes et de felons infangthef et outfangthef auxi fynes et amerciaments des dictes gentz receaunts et auxi issues et forfaits et toutes choses qui a vous ou a vous heirs pourroient appartenir queux devant vous ou vous heirs en la chauncellerie de vous ou de vos heirs ou devant les Justices les Barrons de vostre Eschiquier de vous ou de vos heirs ou devant Justices de Comune Banc de vous ou de vos heirs, ou devant Justices de vous ou de vos heirs as assisez prendrez Gaole delivere ou devant vos Justices ou les Justices de vos heirs as trespaces felonies et aultres mesfaits oyer et terminer assigner ou devant aultre Justice ou ministre de vous ou de vos heirs queconque avyendra estre fait ou a

jugger par extraits del Eschiquier de vous ou l'Eschiquier de vos heirs as ditz Maire et Baillifs du dicte Ville et Gylde pur le temps estaunts par les inquis del Viscount de Gloucestre pur le temps estaunt ent a livere sanz impediment occasion ou destourbance de vous ou de vos heirs justices viscounts eschetours ou aultres officers ou ministres de vous ou de vos heirs queconque; et que nulle deulx face duellum: pur dieu et en oeuvre de charitee.

Appendix II.

Inquis. a. q. d. 4 Henry IV. No. 13.

Inquisitio capta apud Gloucestriam, die Sabbati proximo post festum Sancti Marci Evangeliste anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum quarto, coram Roberto Poyntz Escaetore domini Regis in comitatu Gloucestrie, virtute cujusdam brevis domini Regis eidem Escaetori directi, et cujusdam supplicacionis in dicto brevi intercluse, per sacramentum Thome ffitz Nicholl chevalier, Johannis Gyfford, Edwardi Rodbergh, Johannis le Veel, Thome Moygne, Johannis Harsfeld, Johannis Trye, Philippi Rodberg, Amondesham, Walteri Thoky, Johannis Lorewynche, et Henrici Burdon, qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Villa de Cirencestre, in breve domini Regis nominata et huic inquisitioni consuta, et villa de Mynty cum pertinenciis suis faciunt et sunt manerium de Cirencestre, et fuerunt tempore Regis Ricardi primi progenitoris domini Regis nunc, et quod ecclesia Abbatie Sancte Marie de Cirencestre est de fundacione Regis Henrici primi, progenitoris domini Regis nunc, et de ejus patronatu. Et quod dictus Rex Ricardus primus progenitor domini Regis nunc per cartam suam dedit dicte ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cirencestre predicte, et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo servientibus, pro anima Regis Henrici primi qui eundem locum fundavit, et pro anima Regis Henrici secundi patris dicti Regis Ricardi, et pro salute sua, et Anne Regine matris sue, et fratrum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum,

totum manerium suum de Cirencestre cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, et cum villa de Mynty que est membrum ejusdem manerii, et cum septem hundredis ad predictum manerium et ad firmam ejus pertinentibus, et cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis, ad tenendum de dicto Rege Ricardo et successoribus suis imperpetuum pro triginta libris per annum pro omni servicio reddendis inde singulis annis ad scaccarium ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Et quod predicti canonici et successores sui predictum manerium de Cirencestre cum villa de Mynty, que est membrum ejusdem manerii, et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis integre haberent, et pro perpetuo tenerent in liberam et perpetuam Elemosinam pro prenominatis triginta libris per annum, libere et quiete pacifice et honorifice, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus quas ipsum manerium habuit tempore antecessorum predicti Regis Ricardi, cum bosco et plano in viis et semitis in pratis et pascuis in molendinis et aquis et piscariis, infra Burgum et extra Burgum, cum soka et saka thol et theam infangethef et outfangethef et hamsoka et Grithbruthe et blodewyte et murdro et forestal et flemensfrith et ordel et Orest, infra tempus et extra et omnibus locis et cum omnibus causis que sunt vel esse possent. Item Catalla furum et mercie vel misericordie, que ex murdris vel ex aliquibus forisfactis contingunt vel contingere possunt, dictorum canonicorum sint cum justicia quod ipsum manerium consuevit habere; virtute cujus carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi Johannes nunc Abbas de Cirencestre et omnes predecessores sui, ut in jure ecclesie sue Sancte Marie de Cirencestre dicte, omnes libertates ffranchesias et consuetudines predictas habuerunt possiderunt et usi fuerunt a tempore confectionis predicte carte Regis Ricardi primi. Et quod predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et predecessores sui a tempore donacionis et concessionis manerii predicte habuerunt centum quadraginta libras quatuor solidos et octo denarios redditus assize pertinentes ad manerium predictum in predicta villa de Cirencestre solvenda ad quatuor anni terminos principales et in dicta villa de Cirencestre usuales, et a toto tempore

predicto quociens dictus redditus a retro fuerit ad aliquem terminum terminorum predictorum in parte vel in toto predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et predecessores sui per ballivos et ministros suos dictum redditum per districciones levaverunt. Et dicunt etiam quod predicta septem hundreda sunt quasi unum hundredum, et a toto tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit fuerunt quasi unum hundredum ante confectionem predicte carte, et pertinent ad dictum manerium de Cirencestre, et tenentur apud villam de Cirencestre in predicto breve nominatam de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas in quadam domo vocata Tolseldo in media predicte ville scituata. Et quod Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui a tempore donacionis et concessionis carte predicte Regis Ricardi primi tenuerunt per Seneschallum et ballivos suos predicta Hundreda in loco supradicto, et exitus fines et amerciamenta et omnia alia proficua inde provenientia per ministros et ballivos suos levaverunt, et ad usum et commodum suum proprium perceperunt et habuerunt, que quidam exitus fines amerciamenta et alia proficua supradicta valent per annum in omnibus exitibus quadraginta libras. Et dicunt etiam quod predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et Conventus onerantur de supradictis triginta libris, superius reservatis per cartam dicti Regis Ricardi primi, annuatim solvendis Comiti Kantie et heredibus de corpore suo exeuntibus ex concessione progenitorum domini Regis nunc, quorum quidem triginta librarum revertio reservatur domino Regi et heredibus suis. Et sic concessio privilegiarum libertatum ffranchesiarum et immunitatum predictarum si qua fuerit est in exheredacionem corone domini Regis et heredum suorum. Item habent in villa de Cirencestre predicta diversas terras et tenementa vocata Wyggewoldesfe, et tenentur de domino Rege nunc ut de Comitatu Hereford per servicium militare et sectam Curie feodorum ipsius comitis et heredum suorum ad villam de Gloucestre. Item villa de Cirencestre cum pertinenciis suis valet annuatim in omnibus exitibus suis ducentas marcas que tempore vacacionis cujuscunque Abbatis in manum domini Regis et heredum

suorum seisiri debent, et inde ad scaccarium suum respondere. Item dicunt quod Johannes nuper Rex Anglie progenitor domini Regis nunc concessit et per cartam suam confirmavit tunc Abbati et conventui de Cirencestre quod habeant imperpetuum unam feriam singulis annis apud Cirencestriam per octo dies ante festum omnium sanctorum duraturam, cum omnibus libertatibus ad hujusmodi feriam pertinentibus, virtute cujus carte predicte predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui a tempore confeccionis carte predicte perdictam feriam per octo dies apud Cirencestriam predictam singulis annis ante dictum festum omnium sanctorum tenuerunt, et racionabile theoloneum de omnibus mercandizis in dicta feria mercandizatis per manus ballivorum et ministrorum suorum perceperunt habuerunt et usi fuerunt, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi feriam pertinentibus. Item dicunt quod Henricus tercius progenitor domini Regis nunc concessit et per cartam suam confirmavit tunc Abbati et conventui de Cirencestre quod ipsi et eorum successores imperpetuum haberent unam feriam apud manerium suum de Cirencestre singulis annis duraturam per octo dies, videlicet in vigilia et in die et in crastino translacionis Sancti Thome Martiris et per quinque dies sequentes, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis ad hujusmodi feriam pertinentibus, virtute cujus carte predicte predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui a tempore confeccionis carte predicte predictam feriam per octo dies apud manerium suum de Cirencestre singulis annis tenuerunt et habuerunt et usi fuerunt, ac racionabile theoloneum de omnibus mercandizis in dicta feria mercandizatis, et liberas consuetudines ac libertates ad dictam feriam pertinentes per manus ministorum et ballivorum suorum perceperunt, quarum quidem duarum feriarum exitus theolonia consuetudines et libertates supradicta valent singulis annis predictis Abbati et conventui decem libras. Item dicunt quod villa de Cirencestre in predicto breve nominata et villa de Mynty cum pertinenciis suis faciunt et sunt manerium de Cirencestre, et

quod dictum manerium est de antiquo dominico corone domini Regis, et quod ad dictum manerium spectant duo liberi tenentes videlicet Willielmus Erchebald et tenentes Pyrie. Et quod omnes alii tenentes ad dictum manerium in predictis villis de Cirencestre et Mynty pertinentes tenent omnes terras et tenementa sua per irrotulamentum curie Abbatis de Cirencestre et secundum consuetudinem manerii de Cirencestre, nec possunt alienare nec dare terras et tenementa sua sine licentia Abbatis de Cirencestre qui pro tempore fuerit per sursum reddicionem in Curia dicti Abbatis in Cirencestre et pro fine in dicta Curia ibidem eidem Abbati facienda ad voluntatem suam. Et quod nullus heres aliquorum dictorum tenentium manerii predicti preter duos libere tenentes supradictos potest intrare in aliqua terras et tenementa tenta de manerio predicto jure hereditario post decessum antecessoris vel consanguinei sui sine licencia Abbatis de Cirencestre qui pro tempore fuerit et pro fine eidem Abbati facienda in curia sua ibidem ad voluntatem suam et per liberationem ballivorum et sectatorum in eadem curia factam. Et quod omnes illi tenentes qui sic tenent terras et tenementa per irrotulamentum
debent facere per annum pro quacunque tenura sua tres bederipas et tres fenesones Abbatie predicte, quas quidem consuetudines et servicia predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui a tempore confeccionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi de omnibus tenentibus dicti manerii de Cirencestre dicta, duobus tenentibus superius nominatis exceptis, habuerunt possiderunt et usi fuerunt ut in jure ecclesie sue predicte, que quidem consuetudines solverunt in villa predicta singulis annis prefatis Abbati et conventui triginta libras. Item dicunt quod villa de Cirencestre in predicto breve nominata et villa de Mynty cum pertinenciis suis faciunt et sunt manerium de Cirencestre et quod Rex Ricardus primus quondam Rex Anglie progenitor domini Regis nunc per Cartam suam dedit et concessit deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Cirencestre et Canonicis regularibus ibidem deo servientibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum

manerium suum de Cirencestre cum villa de Mynty que est membrum ejusdem manerii et cum septem hundredis et cum omnibus aliis ad ea pertinentibus in puram et perpetuum elemosinam, Reddendo inde per annum triginta libras ad Scaccarium domini Regis. Et dicunt quod pretextu illius donacionis et concessionis Johannes nunc Abbas de Cirencestre et predecessores sui a tempore donacionis et concessionis carte predicte villas de Cirencestre et de Mynty cum pertinenciis suis que faciunt et sunt manerium de Cirencestre tenuerunt et habuerunt, et curiam ibidem tenendam Cirencestre de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas et visum ffranciplegii pertinentem et verediccionem assise panis et cerevisie et granorum mensurationem, catalla Weyviata et extrahuras ac omnia alia ad visum ffranciplegii pertinentia, cum placeis de vetito namio in predictis villis de Cirencestre et Mynty usi fuerunt et possiderunt. Et dicunt etiam quod omnes tenentes villarum de Cirencestre et de Mynty debent facere sectam ad dictam curiam Abbatis de Cirencestre in Cirencestre de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et etiam quod omnes tenentes et residentes infra dictam villam de Cirencestre debent facere sectam ad dictum visum ffranciplegii apud Cirencestre tenendum bis per annum per rationabilem summonitionem inde eis factam. Et quod dictus Abbas et Conventus habent returna brevium domini Regis, infangethef et custodiam prisonum infra villas et hundreda predicta, et tallagium de tenentibus suis in dictis villis de Cirencestre et Mynty, quando Rex dominica sua talliare fecit, habuerunt possiderunt et usi fuerunt, a tempore donacionis et concessionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi ut de jure ecclesie sue predicte. Et dicunt etiam quod omnes tenentes dictarum villarum de Cirencestre et Mynty a tempore confeccionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi, qui implacitare voluerint de aliquibus terris et tenementis infra dictas villas de Cirencestre et Mynty tentis de manerio predicto, tulerunt breve domini Regis de Recto secundum consuetudinem Manerii de Cirencestre directum ballivis Abbatis de Cirencestre ad curiam Abbatis de Cirencestre coram ballivis et

sectatoribus ejusdem curie protestando sequi breve suum in forma et natura. Et dicunt quod eorum exigere. Et quod predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et Conventus et omnes predecessores sui a tempore confeccionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi de hujusmodi placitis de terris et tenementis in predictis villis de Cirencestre et Mynty coram ballivis predicti Abbatis et predecessorum suorum in Curia sua apud Cirencestram ut in jure ecclesie sue predicte seiziti fuerunt possiderunt et optinuerunt. Et quod predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui ut in jure ecclesie sue predicte a toto tempore predicto exitus fines et amerciamenta de hujusmodi placitis provenientia emergentia fuerunt et possiderunt, et per ballivos et ministros suos ad usum et commodum dicti Abbatis et predecessorum suorum levaverunt, qui quidem fines exitus et proficua Curie et visus franciplegii valent ad minus per annum predicto Abbati et Conventui viginta marcas. Item dicunt quod a toto tempore donacionis et concessionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi predictus Johannes Abbas nunc Abbas de Cirencestre et omnes predecessores sui levaverunt et perceperunt omnimodos exitus fines et amerciamenta coram quibuscunque domini Regis forisfactis et omnia alia proficua domino Regi nunc et predecessoribus suis quoquomodo spectantia infra dictis villis de Cirencestre et Mynty, ac inde ad scaccarium dicti Regis nunc et predecessorum suorum responderunt per ballivos libertatis sue de Cirencestre predicti, que quidem fines exitus amerciamenta coram quibuscunque auditoribus domini nostri Regis valent domino Regi per annum viginti solidos. Item dicunt quod a tempore donacionis et concessionis carte predicti Regis Ricardi primi predictus Johannes nunc Abbas et omnes predecessores sui ut in jure ecclesie sue predicte duo mercata singulis septimanis per dies lune et veneris in predicta villa de Cirencestre habuerunt et possiderunt, ac rationabile theoloneum infra eandam villam per totam septimanam de omnimodis mercandizis ibidem mercandizatis hucusque et a tempore predicte

carte habuerunt perceperunt et habere consueverunt ut in carta Regis Edwardi tercii plenius continetur, ac placita de pipoundro in predicta villa de Cirencestre a toto tempore predicto per senescallos prepositos ballivos et ministros suos tenuerunt ut in jure ecclesie sue predicte. Ac exitus fines et amerciamenta et omnia alia proficua de predictis Curiis in villa de Cirencestre predicta tentis et omnibus omnibus exeuntibus et emergentibus per predictos senescallos prepositos ballivos et ministros suos levaverunt et ad usum et commodum curie pipoudre receperunt, que quidem theoloneum fines exitus et amerciamenta supradicta valent singulis annis dictis Abbati et conventui sexaginta sex solidos et denarios. Item dicunt quod Prior de Lantony juxta Gloucestriam et omnes predecessores sui, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, habuerunt diversos tenentes diversa tenementa redditus et possessiones infra predictam villam de Cirencestre in predicto brevi nominatam, et tenuerunt curias suas ibidem per senescallos suos de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et exitus fines et amerciamenta inde provenientia ad usum suum proprium perceperunt et percipere consueverunt per ministros suos. Et quod dictus Prior et conventus habent in predicta villa de Cirencestre triginta et sex solidos et decem denarios et unum obolum de redditu assise. Item quod Willielmus Archebaund et antecessores sui, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, habuerunt quoddam feodum in villa de Cirencestre in predicto brevi nominata, vulgariter dictum Erchebaundeis, et diversos tenentes et diversa tenementa redditus et possessiones in predicta villa de Cirencestre, et usi fuerunt tenere curias suas de tenentibus suis predictis in eadem villa de Cirencestre de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas per Senescallos suos, et exitus fines et amerciamenta inde proveniencia per ministros suos ad usum suum proprium levaverunt et receperunt. Item quod predictus Willielmus et omnes antecessores sui habent et habuerunt a toto tempore predicto in predicta villa de Cirencestre decem libras de redditu per annum. Item dicunt quod

Willielmus Rye dominus de Wyggewold, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, habuerunt diversos tenentes redditus et possessiones in predicta villa de Cirencestre in predicto brevi nominata, et tenuerunt curias suas de tenentibus suis in Cirencestre per Senescallos suos apud manerium suum de Wyggewold, et exitus fines et amerciamenta de tenentibus suis predictis proveniencia per ministros suos levaverunt et ad usum suum proprium perceperunt. Et quod predictus Willielmus Rye et omnes illi quorum statum ipse habet in predicto manerio de Wyggewold tenuerunt in predicta villa de Cirencestre triginta solidatas redditus per annum. Item dicunt quod fratres Hospitalis sancti Johannis in Jerusalem in Anglia et omnes predecessores sui, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, tenuerunt in predicta villa de Cirencestre in predicto brevi nominata quoddam feodum, vulgariter vocatum the Prior of the Hospital, diversos tenentes et tenementa et possessiones in eadem villa de Cirencestre, et possunt tenere curiam suam de tenentibus suis ibidem de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et visum franciplegii de omnibus tenentibus suis in predicta villa de Cirencestre
exitus fines et amerciamenta de curiis et visibus predictis proveniencia et emergencia
fecerunt. Et quod predicti Prior et omnes predecessores sui a toto tempore predicto habent et habuerunt in predicta villa de Cirencestre centum solidos de redditu assise. Et quod exitus fines amerciamenta de Curia et visibus predictis pertinentes valent singulis annis sex solidos et octo denarios. Item quod Prior de Bradestoke et omnes predecessores sui, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, habuerunt diversos tenentes et tenementa et redditus et possessiones infra villam de Cirencestre in predicto brevi nominatam curiam suam per Senescallos suos de tribus septimanis ad tres septimanas et
et amerciamenta ad usum suum proprium perceperunt
consueverunt Item quod dicti Prior et Conventus habent in predicta villa de Cirencestre triginta

denarios redditus assise singulis annis. Et quod exitus fines et amerciamenta de dicta curia proveniencia Priori et conventui sex solidos annuatim que predicta tenementa redditus et possessiones progenitoris domini Regis nunc necnon domus et ecclesie de Erchebaund Willielmo Rye ffratribus Priori juxta Gloucestriam et successoribus suis Priori et successoribus suis de libertatibus privilegiis franchesiis possessionibus et proficuis supradictis esset grave Dampnum et prejudicium omnibus ligeis domini Regis comitatus Gloucestrie aliis mercatoribus ligeis et omnibus aliis ligeis domini Regis transeuntibus per predictam villam de Cirencestre ut consuetudinibus et opprecionibus per predictos supplicantes de Cirencestre predictis ligeis colore dicte concessionis faciendis si Dominus Rex nunc concedat ligeis suis ville de Cirencestre et successoribus suis in predicto brevi nominatis imperpetuum omnia et singula libertates et privilegia franchesias et immunitates in quadam supplicacione mihi in dicto brevi interclusa missa et predict nominato brevi consuta. In cujus rei testimonium Juratores predicti huic inquisicioni sigilla sua apposuerunt. Datum die et anno ut supra.

APPENDIX III.

Charter for a Guild Merchant at Cirencester, 4th Henry IV.

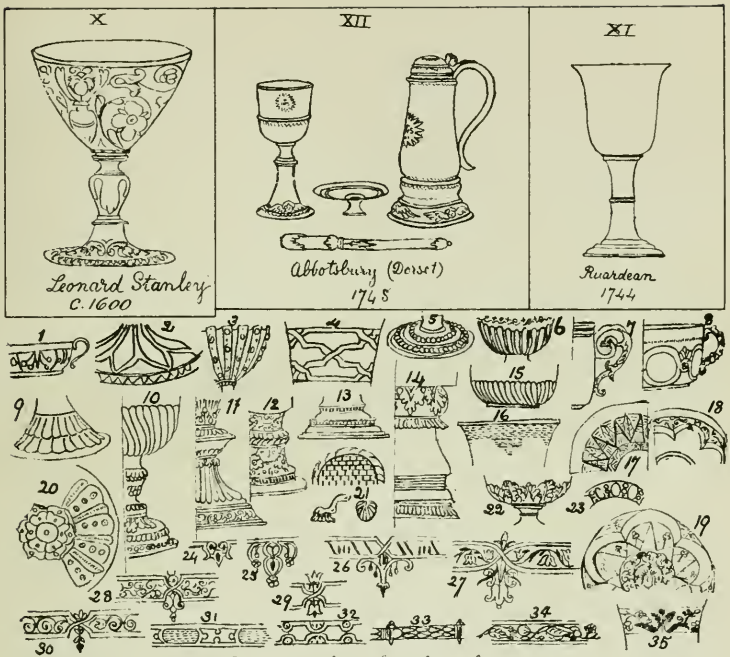
Henricus, &c. Sciatis quod nostra debita considerantes, pensantes sinceram affectionem quam dilecti ligei nostri, homines ville de Cyrencestre, erga nostram personam, postquam regni gubernaculum suscepimus, multipliciter ostenderunt, et volentes premissorum memoria prefatos ligeios nostros favore prosequi gratiosissimo, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem hominibus libertates et privilegia subscripta: videlicet quod ipsi heredes et successores

sui habeant in perpetuum in villa predicta unam gildam mercatoriam, cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus privilegiis et consuetudinibus ad gildam mercatoriam pertinentibus, et quod idem homines et heredes et successores sui predicti singulis annis crastino Epiphanie Domini, in certo loco infra villam predictam per se limitando conveniant et ibidem, de eorum consensu et assensu, unum magistrum[1] et tot et tales alios gubernatores officiarios et ministros gilde predicte, quot et quales eis pro meliore gubernatione gilde predicte videbitur faciendos, vocare facere et ordinare possint in perpetuum; ac etiam quod ipsi et eorum heredes et successores gilde predicte liberi sint et quieti de omnibus sectis shyrarum hundredorum et Wapentak, ac de murdro et latrocinio et de auxilio vicecomitum forestariorum et aliorum ballivorum nostrorum quorumcumque, et de omnibus aliis rebus eis pertinentibus, necnon de custodiis et reparationibus castrorum, et de theoloneo pontagio passagio panagio lestagio stallagio muragio fossagio passagio cariagio pesiagio et chyminagio, de omnibus bonis rebus et mercandizis suis quibuscumque, infra regnum nostrum Anglie et alibi per totam potestatem nostram, tam per terram quam per mare, ubi libertatem eis dare possumus prestandam in perpetuum. Concessimus insuper eisdem homnibus, quod magister sive gubernator gilde predicte, et unus clericus per eos ad hoc deputandus, habeant plenam postestatem et auctoritatem ad recipiendum infra gildam predictam quascumque recognitiones debitorum quorumcumque, coram eis juxta formam Statute de Acton Burnell in hujusmodi casum editi faciendas, et quod predictus magister sive gubernator et clericus de nominibus hujusmodi recognitorum, post annos solutorum, in hujusmodi recognitionibus coram eis faciendis contentis in cancellaria nostra et heredum nostrorum sub sigillo ad hoc ordinando confirmare possint in perpetuum. Ac insuper quod predictus magister sive gubernator gilde predicte pro tempore existens, tam in presentia nostra et heredum nostrorum, quam in absentia nostra et heredum nostrorum, infra gildam predictam habeant assaiam

[1] A master, not *majorem*, a mayor.

et assisam panis vini cerevisiæ et aliorum victualium quorumcumque, necnon mensuram grani et ponderationem lane et omnium aliarum rerum ad officium clerici mercatus hospitii nostri et heredum nostrorum pertinentium sive spectantium, et transgressores in hac parte habitos necnon eorum defectus, tam in presentia nostra et heredum nostrorum, quam in absentia nostra et heredum nostrorum corrigere et punire, ac amerciamenta et proficua inde provenientia pro meliore gubernatione gilde predicte, ac in supportationem custus et aliorum onerum hominibus gilde predicte et eorum heredibus et successoribus incumbentium, ad opus suum levare colligere habere et tenere possint, salvo jure cujusdam ut est justum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod homines gilde predicte et eorum heredes et successores in perpetuum habeant modo et forma predictis omnes libertates et quietancias predictas, et eis et eorum qualicunque plene gaudeant et utantur, sicut predictum est, sine occasione vel impedimento nostri, vel heredum nostrorum, justiciariorum escaetorum vicecomitum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus Thoma Cantuariense totius Anglie primato, Ricardo Eboracense Anglie primato, archiepiscopis, Roberto Londinense, Henrico Lincolniense cancellario nostro, Guidone Meneviense Thesaurario nostro, episcopis, Willielmo Heron Chivalier Senescallo hospitii nostri, et Thoma Langely custode privati sigilli nostri et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Wesmonasterium xiiij die Julii anno regni nostri quarto.

Drawn by Mrs Jennings, King's Stanley Rectory, Stroud.
Revised by Wilfred Cripps Esqre C.B.



1 Shallow bowl with wire [or riband] handle & punched ornament.-2-Spread of the foot covered with 6 [or 8] pointed, [or leaf shaped] rays.-3- Raised strap-work.-4-Quadruple plain intersecting bands.-5-Lines of gadroon moulding.-6-Ornamental fluting.-7-Bird-scroll handle.-8-Low bowl with flat bottom & scroll handle, ornamented with repoussé.-9-Plain conical stem.-10-Oblique gadrooning & ornamental baluster stem.-11-Stem formed of lobed work common about 1535, with flattened knop between foot & bowl, having rayed ornaments upwards & downwards.-12-Short stem with arabesque ornaments divided in the centre by a slight knop.-13-Elizabeth foot with reeded mouldings.-14-Shaped foot without knop but with ornamented boss under bowl, & rayed flange beneath it.-15-Oblique fluting.-16-Intermittent lines, or "hyphen" ornament.-17-Pointed rays [10 or 12] alternating with leaf shaped rays.-18-Lobes with foliated ornament in the spandrels.-19-Ornamental rayed work extending from the central scroll to the inner edge of the lobes.-20-Rayed work in repousse [or punched] ornament.-21-Hatched ground.-22-Claw & shell foot.-23-Acanthus.-24-A variation of egg & tongue moulding.-24 to 34-Elizabeth belts.-viz. double bands, intersecting at internals, & enclosing the usual wavy band of simple woodbine foliage [or hyphen ornament] & fleur de lys ornament extending upwards & downwards at the points of intersection.-35-Raised foliage of 1535

OLD CHURCH PLATE, AND HOW TO DESCRIBE IT.

By WILFRED J. CRIPPS, C.B., F.S.A.

It may not be out of place to devote a few pages of our *Transactions* to this subject now that a committee of our Society has undertaken a systematic enquiry into the ancient church-plate remaining in the county of Gloucester. Similar enquiries have already been undertaken in recent years by kindred societies to our own, or by individual antiquaries in other counties and dioceses, of which several have been brought to a successful conclusion. Complete treatises on the subject have been produced relating to the old church plate of Cumberland and Westmoreland by Chancellor Ferguson, to that of the counties of Dorset and Wilts by the late Mr. J. E. Nightingale, and to the plate of Leicestershire by the Rev. A. Trollope. Many smaller works dealing with separate rural deaneries, and one for the little county of Rutland, have also appeared. On the whole, the history of old Wilts church plate is the best of all these, owing to its great accuracy and completeness; it exhausts the subject without being too diffuse or too detailed. With the advantage it will owe to the excellencies and the mistakes of its predecessors, our own volume should not be far behind the Wiltshire volume in interest and value.

The county of Gloucester affords so large a field of enquiry that it could hardly have been undertaken except on the basis of co-operation: but our Society has the advantage of commanding the services of willing and competent members in almost every district. Without this advantage it would be almost hopeless to bring the work to any high degree of completeness; for even now, although much more is generally known about old church plate than was the case

a few years ago, many returns and descriptions sent in answer to written enquiries turn out almost useless: and it will be found that everything at all interesting must be examined by some expert before it can be accurately described and catalogued.

First, as regards the field of work, it seems far better to adopt the county as its limit. Dioceses are more liable to be sub-divided and altered; and even in these days of change, few have suggested the removal of the ancient landmarks which define our county boundaries, and fewer still have succeeded in the attempt. Most authors have subdivided this field into rural deaneries. This is no doubt because the work of local enquiry has been undertaken by the leading local clergy; and the natural limit from this point of view would be the deanery. But the deanery is not a territorial subdivision that is well known at a distance, even at a little way off in the same county; and it seems to the writer that, whilst it is by far the most convenient local area for obtaining returns from, an arrangement of the parishes of the county in their alphabetical order would be a better one when they are collected into their eventual shape in a volume. It would be more convenient for reference purposes, for indexing and for general archæological purposes; although for ecclesiastical use something may be said for devoting a chapter to each rural deanery, of course arranging the parishes in each deanery alphabetically.

The height and diameter of each upright object should be given in inches; the diameter of patens and salvers; and any other dimension that may be required in the case of articles of peculiar shape or character. The weight should also be recorded: the weight in troy ounces and pennyweights is often engraved on some part of an object, usually on the bottom or back. This should be recorded and verified, as ancient pieces may be found to have lost a little weight in the process of excessive or injudicious cleaning, carried on for centuries. It is of course often impossible to be within reach of the troy weights which are proper for weighing plate: but

if the weight is accurately ascertained by means of the ordinary avoirdupois weights which are to be found in every shop and household, and entered in the returns as being the weight of the article according to the ordinary household weight, it can be easily transposed into its troy equivalent. A table to facilitate this is given at an early page of *Old English Plate;* but even without such assistance the translation of a weight ascertained according to the one table into its equivalent according to the other, does not require a knowledge of very high mathematics.

All inscriptions, of which many occur recording the history and circumstances of gift of pieces of plate, with dates and the arms of donors, should be carefully copied. Rubbings should be taken of peculiar forms of lettering and of coats of arms with their mantlings and other surroundings. Sometimes these prove to be matters of greater interest than would appear possible at first sight. The fact that the present writer had taken a rubbing of a particular engraved band on a communion cup of Elizabethan date, proved of great importance to obtaining the return of the vessel to its parish years after an improper alienation of it.

So much for the amount and kind of description that is necessary; let us now turn to the articles to be described. It is hardly to be hoped or expected that any relic of pre-reformation days, not already known to exist, will be found in the course of our Gloucestershire enquiry. Several very ancient chalices were found amongst the remote villages on the Wiltshire Downs by Mr. Nightingale; but only two are known of in our own county, and one of these is in private hands: and is believed to have been anciently used in the domestic chapel at Chavenage House, near Tetbury. The single chalice of pre-reformation date still in the possession of its parish and in use is preserved with its paten at Clifford Chambers. It is possible that a paten or two may come to light; if so, it will probably be a small and plain plate bearing the vernicle or face of the Saviour in very rude engraving on its centre. This is the character of most of the patens found

of late years in country villages. One or two have shown the letters, I. H. S. in Tudor lettering or black-letter, instead of the more usual vernicle. Perhaps the next most ancient piece of plate in the county is the cup called "the Boleyn cup" at Cirencester. The interest of this cup is well known and need not be anticipated here: but it may afford us an opportunity of remarking how much interest attaches to specimens of secular plate which have been devoted by their owners to sacred uses. Some may think them less suitable for church use than articles specially made for it and of conventional design. But surely fine objects of secular origin given by the piety of donors, sometimes of very ancient times, for the services of the churches in which they worshipped, should seem of almost additional interest to us of later times, and should be preserved as religiously and as carefully as the pieces of more ecclesiastical fashion. As in the case of the Boleyn cup, which has led to these remarks, they are often of great artistic interest. The piece in question is indeed one of the most beautiful objects of its period in art history. Of the Edward VI. cups, not one has been heard of as yet within the limits of our enquiries. Indeed not more than fifteen are known to exist. They seldom show the band that is so characteristic a feature of the Elizabethian communion cups: but they usually have a distinctive feature of their own in the projecting collar round the upper part of the stem up under the bowl. Their ornamentation is sometimes of the dotted pattern like lines of hyphens, which lasted on into the days of Queen Elizabeth.

It is hardly necessary to speak in detail of the Elizabethan cups. Happily they are very numerous in Gloucestershire. There are sixteen within a walk of Cirencester. They are recognized at a glance by the engraved band around the bowls, spoken of above. This is in ordinary cases a double fillet or band, the bands crossing each other at three or perhaps four points in the circle, and enclosing between them a waving line of simple foliage like woodbine. Sometimes these bands are more elaborate, four being formed

instead of two, and the points of intersection being more elaborately arranged. Sometimes again two of the more ordinary bands are found, one around the lip and another around the middle of the bowl. The paten-cover is a usual feature, and in Elizabethan specimens this fits on to the rim of the cup somewhat tightly. The later specimens do not catch on, and are more of plate fashion than those which are properly called paten-covers.

The later cups of this period are plainer and straighter sided, but with the Elizabethan stem, having the knob or bulb in the centre of it. They will not, however, be found after the end of the reign of Charles I. Several will be found of this period, say from 1600—1640, of wine-glass shape: that is to say on baluster stems and with conical bowls like the ordinary domestic wine-glasses, called claret glasses, but larger.

Of the Commonwealth and Restoration period a few may be found perhaps of a quasi-pre-reformation shape, with eight-sided or ten-sided foot, with cherub heads at the angles, but they are not so common as the heavy cups with trumpet-shaped stem and foot which succeed them and last through the second half of the 17th century.

Pewter vessels of this century occur, and the particulars of these, with the marks of the makers, should be taken as carefully as if they were of the more precious metal. Mr. Trollope, in his history of the Leicestershire church plate, has bestowed great care upon the pewter vessels he found in the course of his researches.

Flagons must now be mentioned before we come to more modern times. Elizabethan "round-bellied" or jug-shaped flagons sometimes occur. A splendid pair will be recorded from Cirencester, and others from Rendcomb. No doubt there are several to be announced, but they are not likely to be later in date than 1610. From then, the tankard-flagon is very common; and it will be found of great size and with a widely-splayed foot for most part of the 17th century.

The Queen Anne cup is tall, with a tulip-shaped bowl, having very little knob or projection on its rather clumsy stem: and there is little to be said of more modern plate except that, however modern and of however little art interest, it should all be catalogued in the same detail as more ancient plate, for the benefit of posterity. Pieces of secular origin will again occur sometimes, such as the fluted cup or bowl with two handles, which is preserved at Uley. Very occasionally a christening basin will be found, although such vessels have quite gone out of use.

A few, but alas very few, objects of interest exist in unsuspected places, such as the mazer-bowl, used as an alms-plate at Fairford. This is perhaps the most ancient church vessel in the county, and of exceptional interest, these old English wooden bowls being of great rarity. The Fairford specimen is of maple-wood, and has a band of silver round the rim to deepen it, as well as to give it a more ornamental character. It may have been originally intended to hold the churchwardens' refreshment on occasion of parish meetings, but when they occur they have usually been used as alms-bowls for many generations past.

Alms-dishes are the last of the objects we have to mention, unless there chance to be altar-candlesticks to be seen anywhere. Altar plate of this kind is never older than the Restoration period, and is seldom to be met with unless in cathedrals. Brass alms-dishes of German hammered work are more common; the central space being occupied with Spies, or Adam and Eve in Paradise, or other such subject.

Unless we are unusually fortunate in our Gloucestershire enquiry, the above sketch summarises in a general way what is likely to be found: but it will be of great interest to have catalogued it properly, and it may perhaps have the useful effect of drawing attention to the great local interest of parochial treasures, and to the preservation of them from improper alienation in times to come.

It has frequently been forgotten that the Edward VI.

or Elizabethan cup is usually fashioned of the very silver of the old massing chalice that had been used by the village priest for many a generation before it was ruthlessly melted down in obedience to Puritanical prejudice; and much that has been exchanged for new and, comparatively speaking, valueless plate would never have been parted with had the value and interest been better understood of what remains to our day of old English church plate.

THE WHITSUNDAY RITE AT ST. BRIAVELS.

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

No apology is needed for the subject of this paper; for in these days antiquaries readily admit that there are other matters of archæological interest than the material fabrics which remain to us from elder times. Traditions—including under that word not only what is said but what is done, not only tales and songs and proverbs, but also the rites and superstitions of our peasantry—are recognized as being equally worthy of study, and, properly studied, equally able to shed light on the condition of our ancestors and their modes of thought and feeling, with the works of art in stone and wood and metal those ancestors have left us. I venture, therefore, to ask with some confidence for the attention of the Society to a brief statement of the problems connected with a curious rite long practised and now dying out at St. Briavels, and to suggest a solution.

The earliest mention of the rite occurs in Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire* (1779), where we are told that the parishioners of St. Briavels "have a custom of distributing yearly, upon Whitsunday, after divine service, pieces of bread and cheese to the congregation at church, to defray the expenses of which every householder in the parish pays a penny to the churchwardens; and this is said to be for the privilege of cutting and taking wood in Hudnolls. The tradition is that the privilege was obtained of some Earl of Hereford, then Lord of the Forest of Dean, at the instance of his lady, upon the same hard terms that Lady Godiva obtained the privileges for the citizens of Coventry." The Rev. W. Taprell Allen, the vicar, informs me that the payment was made in all probability not to the churchwardens but to the constable of the castle at St. Briavels as warden of the

Forest of Dean. And he further says: "For many years it was customary to bring to the church on Whitsunday afternoon baskets of the stalest bread and hardest cheese cut up into small pieces the size of dice. Immediately after the service the bread and cheese were scrambled for in the church, and it was a custom to use them as pellets, the parson coming in for his share as he left the pulpit. About 1857, or perhaps a year or two later, the unseemly custom was transferred from the church to the churchyard, the bread and cheese being thrown down from the church tower. Later on it was transferred to the road outside the church gates. It now lasts but a few minutes. A few years ago all the roughs of the Forest used to come over, and there was much drinking and fighting; but now it is very different. The custom has, in fact, been dying out."

The tradition, it will be observed, consists of two parts—the custom, and the story to account for it. Of the story we have no details. It would have been beneath the dignity of a county historian like Rudder to indulge in such trifling. So we are left to guess at them by the reference to Lady Godiva. Now, Lady Godiva, as we all know, is said to have freed Coventry from tolls and other burdens by riding through the city naked. And her achievement is periodically commemorated by a procession on Corpus Christi Day. In former days, and certainly down to the early part of the present century, it was commemorated not only at Coventry, but at the village of Southam, a few miles away. There an independent procession took place, in which there were two Godivas, one white and the other black.

We will deal with the black lady presently: the story claims our attention first. Godiva, properly Godgifu, was an actual personage, the wife of Leofric, Earl of the Mercians, and mother of Earls Morcar and Edwin, and of Edith, wife first of Gruffydd, Prince of North Wales, and afterwards of King Harold the Second. The legend concerning her has, however, been shown to be absolutely devoid of historical foundation. Roger of Wendover, the earliest writer who

mentions it, did not write for a hundred and fifty years after the lady's death. The population of Coventry in her time could not have exceeded three hundred and fifty, all in a greater or less degree of servitude, dwelling probably in wooden hovels each of a single story, with a door, but no window. There could, therefore, have been no market such as is spoken of by Roger—hardly, indeed, a town through which Godiva could have ridden; and a mere toll would have been unimportant where the people were all serfs. If the story of Godiva's ride be a fiction, we need have little hesitation about the tradition at St. Briavels.

The fact is that, although there are few vestiges in Europe, save at Coventry and St. Briavels, of any such tale, it is not uncommon in the East. Stories of ladies riding openly and unveiled through the streets of a city, whose inhabitants are required on pain of death to keep within doors and to avoid peeping, are to be found in the *Arabian Nights*, in the *Ardshi-Bordshi* (a Sanskrit work only known to us through a Mongolian version), and in modern folklore. I will only detain you with one, an Indian legend, in which the heroine appears entirely unclad. We are told that the inhabitants of Chamba dug a canal for irrigation; but when it was dug, owing to the enchantments of an evil spirit, not a drop of water could be got to flow along its course. A magician at last found out that the spell could only be dissolved if the beautiful and virtuous young princess of Chamba would consent to traverse a given distance of the plain stark naked, in full view of the populace, and to lose her head at the end of the journey. After much hesitation she undertook the task. But as she advanced, a thick line of young trees arose on either side of her, completely hiding her from cynical eyes. And the shady canal is shown to-day by the good people of Chamba as one of the most authentic monuments of their history.[1]

It is unnecessary to examine the stories further, because in investigating traditional ceremonies one of the canons is

[1] *Tour du Monde*, vol. xxi., p. 342. *Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iv., p. 12.

that a tale told to account for a ceremony has its origin in the ceremony, and not the ceremony in the events of the tale. The ceremony existed first; the tale grew up afterwards as an attempt to explain the ceremony. Now, the peculiarity of the present case is that we have the same tale told at Coventry and St. Briavels to explain two different ceremonies. What we must infer is that both ceremonies—a procession and a feast—were part of the original rite. At Coventry the ceremony was controlled, and doubtless to some extent transformed, by the strong hand of a municipal body. The earliest mention of the procession is in the year 1678. Its object then was, and I believe still is, to proclaim the Great Fair; and Lady Godiva is but one of the figures in it. This could hardly have been the first performance of the procession, though probably it was one of unusual splendour. And it is equally difficult to suppose that this was the first introduction of Lady Godiva. Her legend was certainly current during the Middle Ages; and it would be contrary to all that we know of mediæval shows if the procession had taken place and Lady Godiva had been left out. At St. Briavels, on the other hand, the custom has long been in a state of decay. We can trace the later stages. What impresses us most is that when we first meet with it, and indeed down to quite recent years, and amid the indecent burlesque into which it has become degraded, there is still something of a religious character about it. The distribution of food on a day of high and holy festival in the church to the congregation, and paid for by a levy upon every householder in the parish, can point to nothing else than a feast of the whole community as a solemn act of worship. Moreover, Canon Maddy, who was formerly at St. Briavels, informs me that the bread and cheese were believed to be incorruptible, and were eagerly scrambled for and preserved under this belief. This belief and the consequent scramble were no doubt the means of the rapid degeneration of the rite. But it is important to notice that the quality of incorruptibility is the same that was attributed during the Middle Ages to the con-

secrated wafer, and is unmistakable evidence of the sacred character ascribed to the bread and cheese, and consequently to the entire ceremony.

If the ceremony stood alone, if no legend of a ride were connected with it, we might be inclined to see in it some vestige of an ancient Christian rite. But, as it is, we are precluded from doing this; and we can only suppose it to have been a heathen performance, the scene of which has been transferred to the Church. Instances of heathen ceremonies and objects of veneration taken over by the Christian Church during the Middle Ages are numberless, and require no illustration here. It is more to the point to ask what could have been the rite thus taken over.

That portion of the rite which affords the greatest difficulty is the one represented in the stories by the lady's ride, and surviving at Coventry and (until recent years) at Southam in the procession. It points back to a ceremony wherein the sole actors were women, and wherefrom men were sedulously kept aloof. Such rites were known among the classic Greeks and Romans. At Corinth they appear to have been performed in honour of Dionysos. Pausanias tells us that Pentheus, who climbed a certain tree for the purpose of overlooking them, was torn in pieces by the infuriated votaresses.[1] This was by no means the only instance of secret ceremonies by women. The most remarkable of them were celebrated in honour of Demeter. Aristomenes, a legendary hero of the Messenians, is said to have made a raid with a band of warriors upon the ceremonies performed by the women at Ægila, in Laconia, in order to take them prisoners. But the parts were unexpectedly reversed. The angry women turned to, and, with the spits and pieces of the burning sacrifices and torches, routed the intruders, and took Aristomenes himself captive.[2] In Achaia,

[1] Pausanias, l. ii., c. 2. The women also had concealed rites in Corinthian territory in honour of the Nymphs. *Ibid*, c. 11. As to the Thesmophoria, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, vol. v., p. 320, *et seqq*.

[2] Pausanias, l. iv , c. 17.

about sixty stadia from Pellene, stood a temple of Demeter where a seven days' festival was held. On the third day the women were left in possession for their special ceremonies, which were performed during the night. The following day the men returned; and jokes and mirth took place between the men and women.[1] At Rome, the annual festival of the Bona Dea took place in the month of December, and was attended only by women. The matrons of the noblest families met by night in the house of the highest official of the state to perform the traditional ceremonies, and to pray for the well-being of the Roman people.[2]

We are not told what was the costume of the women on these occasions. We gather, however, from Pliny that in various parts of the Roman Empire it was the custom for women to perform secret agricultural rites in the garb of the unfallen Eve; and where they did not quite go to this length, the state of their clothing indicated beyond all doubt that at one time they had done so. The rites in question seem to have consisted in walking through the fields, or round them.[3] So in India a potent spell to bring rain was reported as actually practised during the Gorakhpur famine of 1873-4. It consisted of a gang of women without a rag of clothing going out by night to drag the plough across a field. The men were kept carefully away, as it was believed that peeping by them would not only vitiate the spell but bring trouble on the village.[4] Among the Rájbansi, one of the aboriginal tribes of Bengal, the women dance in the same costume by night in the fields round two mud images of Hudum Deo, one of their divinities, believing that this will cause rain to fall.[5] Other agricultural rites are performed by women in similar disguise both in Bengal and in the Mahratta country.

Nor is it only in out-of-the-way places in India that such practices obtain. Even in Europe they have been known quite recently, if they are not still to be found. Among the

[1] Pausanias, l. vii., c. 27. [2] Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, vol. i., p. 398.
[3] Pliny, l. xxviii., c. 23. [4] *Panjab N. and Q.*, vol. iii., pp. 41, 115.
[5] Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i., p. 498.

Bulgarians in Southern Hungary the mistress of the house cures bewitched milk by going at midnight in a state of nature around the herd three times and plunging a fork into the milk vessel.[1] A curious method of defence against epidemics is still practised in Russia. A certain number of unmarried girls post themselves at midnight, secretly and without being seen by men, at the entry of the village by every road which leads to it; and there with cries and threatening gestures they endeavour to frighten away the disease as they would a troop of animals. After this nocturnal exercise has been thrice repeated no well-regulated disease can remain. If it persist in staying, there is something wrong: the girls have been seen, or some part of their performance has been wanting. Formerly in some places the rite was much more difficult. A young girl was required to pass nude through a blazing pile.[2] And this means that in still earlier days she would have been burnt alive. In like manner, among the Zulus, in order to prevent sickness from visiting a kraal, all the girls and unmarried women, when diseases are known to be prevalent, rise early in the morning, dress themselves entirely in their brothers' skins, and drive the cattle away from the homestead, bringing them back only at sunset. No man or boy dares to go near the girls the whole day, or to speak to them.[3]

In this case the women are not wholly unclad; but there are so many instances of concealed rites by women, both clad and unclad, in the New World as well as the Old, that it would be tedious to extend the list. I will, therefore, only refer to two cases which are immediately in point. Among the tribes of the Gold Coast of Africa the wives of the men who have gone to war make a daily procession through the town. They wear no more clothing than Godiva is said to have done; but to make up for it, they are painted all over with white, and decorated with beads and charms. Any man

[1] *Mélusine*, vol. vi., p. 56.

[2] *Compte Rendu du Congrès Internat. des Trad. Pop.* (1889), p. 87.

[3] *South African Folklore Journal*, vol. ii., p. 12.

who is found in the town is attacked and driven away.[1] The Gold Coast is a long way off: but not only do black women there paint themselves white in their sacred rites; white women—and white women in Britain—have painted themselves, if not black, at least a very dark blue. Pliny records that both matrons and unmarried girls among the Britons in the first century of the Christian era were in the habit of staining themselves all over for their ceremonies with the juice of the woad. And he adds the remarkable words, that thus rivalling the swarthy hue of the Œthiopians, they go on these occasions in a state of nature.[2] There is very little doubt that a considerable British population survived the Anglo-Saxon conquest in the neighbourhood of Coventry; and if it did, what is more likely than that it continued and preserved its customs, and that one of such customs was that same religious rite of which Pliny speaks? Unhappily he tells us nothing about the rite itself, nor about the deity in whose honour it was performed. But it would not involve a great stretch of fancy to suppose that in the black lady of Southam we have a survival of the performance. Is it too much to say that this explanation would have the merit of being intelligible and adequate?

But to explain the rite at Southam is also to explain those at Coventry and St. Briavels. The processions both at Coventry and at Southam are alleged to commemorate the same lady, the same feat. And though we may disbelieve the story, there can be no doubt that whatever was the origin of the one was the origin of the other. The adoption of the name of Godiva in the legend professing to account for the performance would be quite natural at Coventry, where, in consequence of her and her husband's foundation of the great Benedictine monastery, the town, which owed its wealth and importance mainly to the monastery, already

[1] Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 226. The Greek women seem to have performed similar rites; but I cannot put my hand on any authority better than Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, vol. v., p. 322.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, l. xxii., c. 1.

acknowledged her as a local heroine, if not a saint. And once the name of Godiva was adopted, the black lady was likely to disappear. No privileges, however, were alleged to have been won for Southam by Godiva. Its connection with her consisted only in the fact that it had been part of the possessions of her husband, Earl Leofric. But if Southam found itself with an annual ceremony similar to that of Coventry, and had forgotten its origin, what is more likely than that it should refer that origin to the distinguished lady who was credited with the ceremony at Coventry? Naturally, however, the legend would take root less firmly than at the city identified for more reasons than one with Godiva's fame; and hence the black figure, which, upon the hypothesis we are discussing, was an original part of the ceremony, would be less ready to give way. Matters would, therefore, be compromised by the introduction of a white figure side by side with the black one.

If we now turn to St. Briavels we have no record of a procession, though we have the same story as that of Coventry. Here we may assume the continuance of the British population as a certainty. And a British population would be likely to retain the customs of British populations. One of the customs of British populations was that recorded by Pliny in the passage I have quoted; and in the tradition of the ride and the actual observance of a sacred meal I think we may see a survival of that custom. The occasion was no doubt a festival, probably a tribal festival, which would, like all festivals, both savage and civilized, be wound up with a common meal. In savage life, at all events, there is no marked line of distinction between religious and social rites. The introduction of Christianity did not annihilate the older customs. The new religion incorporated some of them; and although the rest were no longer regarded as sacred, the feeling of obligation remained attached to them for centuries. Nor did Christianity everywhere incorporate the same observances. In some places, and amid some circumstances, one set of customs would be seized by the Church and baptized

to Christian uses. Elsewhere these would be rejected and another set of customs would be adopted. In Coventry, the ecclesiastical organization was dominated by monasticism. Outside this organization there grew up a municipality and a corporate feeling. The monks would have a difficulty in absorbing the feminine cult, already, perhaps, to some extent secularized before the foundation of the monastery. But a municipality would readily accept it, give form to the legend growing up to account for it, and make it a part of its traditions. Slow the process may have been, and difficult for us in a critical age to realize; but that is no argument against it.

On the other hand, at St. Briavels the parish church was the one centre of social life. Around this its customs would gather. If they were such as could be tolerated, they would gradually be accepted and modified: the portions which could not be absorbed would be dropped; the rest would remain. Hence it probably was that the sacred meal survived, the indecent procession disappeared.

It should not be overlooked in estimating the identity of the festivals of Coventry and St. Briavels that both took place at the same period of the year: the former on the day after Corpus Christi day—that is to say, the Friday after Trinity Sunday; the other on Whitsunday. In cases of this kind too close a correspondence must not be expected. Even in very early times a divergence of the exact dates may easily have arisen; and during the lapse of ages a hundred contingencies may have occurred to drive them apart. It is quite enough that they are within twelve days of one another.

Lastly, we must ask what was the intention of the rite. If we look to the two legends we shall not get much help. Not much, yet perhaps a little. Tolls and burdens were done away with at Coventry by Lady Godiva's ride. What these tolls and burdens were we are left to surmise. All that we learn of them is negative. One account tells us that pigs were not included in the exemptions. Another account says nothing about pigs, but declares that horses were not

exempted, because Godiva's horse neighed and so called forth Peeping Tom's curiosity. At St. Briavels, the liberty of cutting wood in Hudnolls was said to have been purchased by the ride. Here we have a positive statement. If we put the two together we shall be led to suspect that the rite had some agricultural or pastoral reference. Turning now to secret rites performed by women in other parts of the world, we find that they are frequently—perhaps we may say generally—connected with agriculture and cattle. Demeter, in whose honour the Greek women foregathered for secret celebrations, was the Earth-goddess. The Bona Dea was the wife and daughter of Faunus, a woodland deity. The rites recorded by Pliny in other localities were agricultural. Those at Gorakhpur and among the Rájbansi in Bengal had for their object to procure rain. The Bulgarian wife dissolves the spells upon milk. The Zulu girls drive the cattle abroad. Even the adventure of the Princess of Chamba is said to have been undertaken for the sake of irrigation. All these indications confirm the suspicion that the rites at Coventry and St. Briavels were agricultural or pastoral. Élie Reclus, writing of savage and barbarous peoples, notices that "agricultural rites show a certain predilection for the nudity of the celebrants." If we may trust to the legends, it would seem that the rites at Coventry were pastoral, those at St. Briavels agricultural. But, having regard to the negative character of the information at Coventry, it is possible that in both cases the rites were agricultural.

But I may be asked, Where is the historical evidence for this hypothesis of mine? I must answer that there is none. History, and even country history, has been occupied so long with matters of vastly inferior interest and importance, that it has had no leisure to describe and to investigate the traditions of the peasantry—in other words, the life and civilization of the great mass of the nation. Hence, when we want to explain such a rite as that of which I have been speaking, we are driven back upon the same sort of evidence as the geologist when he finds a tooth, or some other bone,

embedded in the rock, and seeks to reconstruct the entire animal. He compares it with the bones of living species, and is thus able to determine what sort of a creature once possessed it, and what were its size and habits. He reasons from the known to the unknown, being sure that nature works everywhere upon the same principles. Upon the validity of this kind of reasoning a very large and increasing portion of our scientific knowledge depends. It is universally accepted in the physical sciences, and is now generally applied to the psychological phenomena of mankind. What I have ventured to lay before you is the application of this method to the Whitsunday rite at St. Briavels.[1]

[1] I have ventured to borrow portions of the foregoing paper from my little book on *The Science of Fairy Tales*, where further details as to the legend of Godiva and its history and analogous tales may be found.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE FOREST OF DEAN, 1643-1645.

By F. A. HYETT.

No important engagement occurred in the Forest of Dean during the great Civil War, but it was the scene of repeated skirmishes. It was plundered and devastated first by one party and then by another, and its inhabitants had to endure almost as great privations as those in any part of England.

At the commencement of the war there does not seem to have been any marked tendency on the part of the Foresters to espouse either the side of the King or of Parliament. Probably, like the Welsh, their sympathies would have been Royalist, but there had been no little dissatisfaction at a grant made by the King in 1640 to Sir John Winter of the mines, minerals, and timber, which practically amounted to a sale of the whole Forest.

Sir John was a zealous supporter of the King, and his unpopularity consequent upon this grant no doubt alienated many of the Foresters from the Royal cause.

The Civil War is generally said to have commenced on August 22nd, 1642, when the King unfurled his standard at Nottingham, but it was not till February in the following year that any signs of it were seen in the Forest of Dean.

Gloucester was, as every one knows, one of the strongholds of the Parliamentary party in the West of England during the whole of the Civil War, and early in 1643 Massey, though cooped up within its walls, was inflicting no little injury and annoyance on the surrounding Royalist district. In order to put an end to this, Lord Herbert, at a cost of £60,000, collected an army of 2000 Welshmen and marched through the Forest of Dean to reduce Gloucester. This Lord Herbert was the eldest son of the first Marquis of Worcester, and an

ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort. He wrote a curious little book entitled "A Century of Inventions," printed in 1663.

The road by which this little army would come was known, and accordingly a Parliamentary force, under Col. Berrowe, was stationed at Coleford to intercept its progress. A single gun and one artilleryman were placed there, but the artilleryman was bribed with £40 by Benedict Hall, an ardent Catholic, who lived not far off at High-meadow House, which he had strongly fortified.

On February 20th, 164$\frac{2}{3}$, Lord Herbert's army reached Coleford, and had little difficulty in overpowering Berrowe's troops, who were driven tumultuously through the town with the loss of a lieut. colonel killed and about forty privates taken prisoners. The attacking party, however, lost Major-General Sir Richard Lawdey, "a bold and sprightly officer," who commanded the foot. According to a tradition, he was killed by a silver bullet fired from a window in the King's Head Inn. The market-house at Coleford was burned during the engagement, and the garrison fled in every direction. Lord Herbert's army proceeded, under the command of Sir Jerome Brett, to Highnam, then the residence of Sir Robert Cooke, where they threw up entrenchments, anticipating an attack from the forest side. Some of these earthworks may still be seen in Highnam Churchyard. Here Brett seems to have been absolutely idle for six weeks, vainly expecting co-operation from Prince Rupert. The situation was a serious one for Massey, but he contrived to communicate with Sir William Waller, who was in Wiltshire. Sir William, after taking Malmesbury, marched by night to Framilode, and having crossed the river by means of pontoons, in accordance with a pre-arrangement with Massey, marched through Huntley, and attacked the Welshmen in the rear on March 24th, 164$\frac{2}{3}$, while they were defending themselves from a sally which Massey at the head of 500 men had made from Gloucester. The Welsh army, almost to a man, were taken prisoners, but the account of this is

outside the scope of the present paper. Sir William Waller then marched into Wales through Newnham, Monmouth and Chepstow, but the garrisons in each place retreated on his approach without resistance. In Wales he seems to have met with no opposition, but to have established no authority. Prince Maurice was ordered by the King to check his operations, whereupon, with a force of about 2000 men, he formed a line extending from Ross to Newnham in order to intercept Waller on his return. There was no chance of escape for Waller except to cut his way through this line. Accordingly, he sent his foot, baggage and artillery across the Severn at Aust ferry, on April 10th, and marched by night with his horse from Chepstow to Newnham, intending to take the enemy by surprise. On this march he narrowly escaped capture. Prince Maurice had taken up his head-quarters at Little Dean, and when within about a mile of that place, Waller, with about 120 horse, through, as he says, "the sleepiness of an officer," became detached from the main body of his force and was obliged to halt in broad daylight, but no attack was made on him before the rest of his force came up.

On April 11th, 1643, he entered Newnham, which was at once evacuated by the Royalist garrison, who hastened to join the Prince at Little Dean. Waller followed them to that place, where he found their foot drawn up in one body and their horse on a hill on the other side of the town. According to Waller's narrative,[1] the infantry fired one volley and retired, and he and his horse entered the town, where they waited for three hours expecting a renewal of hostilities. As no attack was made on him, he proceeded, in view of the enemy, to Gloucester, leaving a small garrison of horse and foot behind. As soon as he was gone, Prince Maurice's cavalry came down from the hill and attacked the garrison, killing some and taking others prisoners, but Waller says that the Royalists' loss was as great as that which they inflicted.

1 "Experiences and Observations of Sir William Waller," published under the title of "Divine Meditations."

The following extract from Richard Atkyns' *Vindication*[1] seems to explain why no attack was made:—

"I commanded the forlorn hope thrice. The first was at Little Deane, in the Forest of Deane, under the conduct of the then Lord Grándison, against Sir William Waller's army; . . . The charge was seemingly as desperate as any I was ever in: it being to beat the enemy from a wall which was a strong Breast Work, with a gate in the middle, defended by above 200 musketeers beside horse. We were to charge down a steep plain Hill of above 12 score yards in length: as good a Mark as they could wish. Our party consisted of between two and three hundred horse, not a man of them would follow us. So the officers, about 10 or 12, agreed to gallop down in as good order as we could and make a desperate charge upon them. The enemy seeing our resolution, never fired on us at all, but ran away, and we (like young Souldiers) ran after them, doing execution, but one Capt. Hanmer fell upon their Ambuscade, and was killed Horse and Man. I had only time to take my horse and run for my life. Our party seeing our success came into the town after us and stopped our retreat; and finding we were penned by the enemy the Horse in front fell back upon the Rear, and they were so crowded together that they routed themselves, so that there was no moving for a long time. All the while the enemy bore upon me, striking my armour in several places, and discharging pistolls as they got up to me, being the outermost man, which Major Cheldon declared to my very great advantage. But when they pressed us to the town, Major Leighton had made good a stone house, and so prepared for them with musketeers that one volley of shot made them retreat. We determined to quarter all night on the field of battle."

During the next few months there seems to have been

[1] Richard Atkyns (a member of a Gloucestershire family) took an active part on the King's side in the Civil War. The Little Dean skirmish was his first engagement. He owes his reputation to a work entitled *The Original and Growth of Printing* (London, 1664), in which he attempted to prove that the first printing press in England was established at Oxford in 1468, or about eight years before Caxton set up his press at Westminster.

some cessation of hostilities in the Forest, the energies of the combatants being centred around Gloucester, which was in a state of siege from August 10 to September 5. But Sir John Winter was all the while secretly making preparations for the species of warfare which he foresaw was at hand. He strongly fortified his house at Lydney (called "White Cross" or the "White House"), and stored it with arms and ammunition. This house had been built by Sir John's grandfather, Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Winter, to whom the manor of Lydney had been granted by Queen Elizabeth in recognition of his services against the Spanish Armada. It is said that he gave the name of White Cross to his house on account of his having been Admiral of the White.

His son, also called Sir Edward, was a man of much enterprise, who established iron-furnaces near the stream which traverses Lydney Vale; and when he had used as fuel all the wood in his own coppices, he obtained permission from the Crown to cut timber in certain parts of the Forest for the purpose. It was a subsequent extension of this grant which made his son Sir John so unpopular. The Winters were Catholics, and Sir John the younger had been private secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria, hence he was a strong partisan of the Court party. He was a man of considerable energy and ability; indeed, he proved himself the only commander among the Gloucestershire Royalists who was at all able to cope with Massey. He seems designedly to have taken no very prominent part in the war till after the relief of Gloucester by Essex, on September 5th, 1643; but within a week of that event he despatched from his house a small troop of horse to Newnham, to protect a barque which was bringing ammunition and stores from Bristol for the King's forces. It was now that the value of White Cross House to the King's side became apparent. After the siege of Gloucester had been raised an attempt was made to starve the city into submission by a remote blockade. Bristol, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Tewkesbury, Sudely and Berkeley were in the hands of the Royalists, who placed

garrisons in Newnham, Newent, Dimmock, Highleaden, and other places; and Sir John Winter's stronghold at Lydney gave him almost the entire command of the Forest of Dean. The Puritan historian, Corbett, speaks of Sir John Winter's house as "inaccessible," and says that "he maintained his den as a plague of the Forest and a goad in the sides of the garrison" of Gloucester. Massey endeavoured to checkmate these operations by placing guards in villages around Gloucester. Among others so held by him in the autumn of 1643, were Westbury-on-Severn, Huntley, and Little Dean.

About the end of January, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, Winter obtained possession of the two former of these places. In one of the Royalists Newsbooks, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, for February 3-10, their capture is thus described:

"Lieutenant-Colonel Winter, with a part of his brother's regiment, marched secretly out of Newnham (a place which the noble owner hath for a long time fortified at his own charges for his Majesty's use) and surprised a garrison of the rebells called Huntley House, four miles from Gloucester, not a rebell escaping, but all taken prisoners with their armes and ammunition. This attempt succeeding so happily, he drew instantly downe to Westbury (another garrison of the rebells), whereof also after small opposition he became master, they within being strangely disheartened with the suddenness of his approach. In these two garrisons he took 129 rebels prisoners, with a great surplusage of armes and some ammunition."

It is amusing and instructive to read an account of the same occurrence by Corbett:

"We lost," he says, "two small garrisons at Westbury and Huntley, by the treachery of Captaine Thomas Davis, who sold them at a rate to Sir John Winter. This Davis commanded the guard at Huntley, where himselfe by night some distance from the house attended the enemies coming, went in before them as friends from Gloucester, gave them possession; and having accomplished that piece of treason, immediately marched to Westbury, where he was received for a friend, and led in his traine of Cavaleers, that both places were surprised in two hours, and above eighty men and armes lost in that great exegence."[1]

Little Dean also seems to have fallen into Winter's hands. From the bitter manner in which Corbett speaks, we may gather that Winter made good use of his garrisons in these

[1] "Corbett's Military Government of Gloucester," page 75, in *Bibl. Glouc.*, vol. ii.

places. Sir John Winter, says Corbett, "vexed his neighbours more than weakened his enemy, and advanced the Catholike cause no other way than by the plague and ruine of the Countrey." His operations evidently vexed Massey, who, as soon as his forces were sufficiently strong, determined, if possible, to re-capture the villages which he had lost. Accordingly, on May 7th, 1644, he attacked Westbury, where the Royalist garrison held the church and a strong house adjoining. This house, without doubt, must have been Mr. Colchester's house, which stood in the Westbury Court Gardens.

The garrison seem to have thrown up earthworks around the church and house. This (I may remark by the way) was precisely the same arrangement as at Painswick, where a guard sent by Massey from Gloucester had entrenched themselves in the church and court-house. Westbury Church was taken by placing stools and ladders under the windows, from which the attacking party threw hand-grenades into the building, and drove out the enemy. Having gained the church, Massey speedily took possession of the house, and took about eighty prisoners without losing a single man.

While this was going on at Westbury another detachment of Massey's force captured Little Dean, taking twenty prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve and Captain Wigmore, with a few private soldiers, were surrounded while in Little Dean Hall, and seeing that resistance was hopeless, consented to surrender. One of the privates in the house seems to have fired from the window and killed a trooper, which so enraged the attacking party that they rushed into the house and killed every man within it. According to tradition, the two officers were butchered near the fireplace in the dining-room, on a spot which is still pointed out. Corbett, without censuring this dastardly act, moralises on the different spirit in which men meet death, as Congreve exclaimed "Lord receive my soul!" and Wigmore cried nothing but "Damn me more! Damn me more!"

On the following day, May 8th, 1644, Massey attacked

and captured Newnham, the taking of which is thus described by Corbett :

"The very next day he appeared before Newnham, where a strong party of Sir John Winter's forces kept garrison in the church, and in the fort adjoining, of considerable strength, who at that instant were much daunted and distracted at the sudden loss of Congreve, their Governor. Our men possessed themselves of the town without opposition, and recovered the houses, by which they got near the works. The Governor commanded a screen of faggots to be made athwart the street ; he then drew up two pieces of ordnance within pistol-shot, and observing a place not well flanked, where he might lead up his men to the best advantage, he himself marched before them, and found that part of the works fortified with double palisadoes. Having provided the soldiers with saws to cut these down, and having drawn the men close within a dead angle, secure from their shot, and prepared the rest of his force for a storm, the enemy forthwith desired a parley, and to speak with the Governor, which he refused, and demanded a sudden surrender. In the interim, some of the enemy jumped over the works, and our men broke in upon the rest, who ran from the outworks into the church, hoping to clear the mount, which we had gained. Our men were too nimble, for they had no sooner entered the mount than they rushed upon them before they could reach home, and tumbled them into the church all together. Then they cried for quarter, and in the very point of victory a disaster had nearly befallen us,—a barrel of gunpowder was fired in the church, undoubtedly of set purpose ; it was conceived to have been done by one Tipper, a most virulent Papist, and Sir John Winter's servant, who despaired of his redemption, having been a prisoner before and falsified his engagements. This powder-blast blew many out of the church and sorely singed a greater number, but killed none. The soldiers, being enraged, fell upon them, and in the heat of blood slew nearly twenty, and amongst others this Tipper. All the rest had quarter for their lives (save one Captain Butler, an Irish rebel, who was knocked down by a common soldier), and a hundred prisoners were taken. The service was performed without the loss of a man on our side."

Massey next marched to White Cross House, which was held by Lady Winter during her husband's absence at Coleford. He made no attack on the house, but summoned her to surrender, promising that if she would do so, she and her attendants should be kindly treated, but that if she refused she must expect fire and sword. To this summons he received the following spirited reply :

"Sir,—Mr. Winter's unalterable allegiance to his King and Sovereign, and his particular interest to this place, hath by his Majesty's commission put it into this condition, which cannot be pernicious to any but to such

as oppose the one and invade the other; wherefore rest assured that in these relations we are, by God's assistance, resolved to maintain it, all extremities notwithstanding. Thus much, in Mr. Winter's absence, you shall receive from

"MARY WINTER."

The house was probably too strongly fortified to be taken by storm, so Massey made no attempt to capture it, and having burned Sir John Winter's iron-mills, he returned to Gloucester.

I can find no mention of any incident in the Forest from this time (May, 1644) till the following September. By the latter month the tide of war was setting steadily against the King. The battle of Marston Moor had been fought, and Rupert had fled with about 300 horse to Bristol. He at once set about an attempt to establish communication between that city and Hereford and South Wales. With this object, he encamped near Beachley, on that narrow strip of land which forms a kind of peninsula between the rivers Wye and Severn at their confluence. This spot had been selected for a camp by both Britons and Romans, and it is, I believe, difficult to discriminate between the earthworks which formed part of these old camps and those thrown up during the Civil War. In September, 1644, Rupert encamped here with 500 horse and foot, and set about strengthening his position. He was not, however, allowed to carry out his intention, as Massey, realising what an annoyance such a stronghold might prove, swooped down on him from Gloucester four days after he had commenced his works. With his quick eye for the weak point in an enemy's defences, the Governor of Gloucester observed that Rupert's artillery was placed so that it could rake the river at high-water only; consequently he waited till the tide was low and the guns harmless, and so with comparative ease dislodged Rupert's little force, many of whom were slain or drowned and 111 taken prisoners.

This engagement was fought in sight of many of the inhabitants of Chepstow, who had assembled on the lofty cliffs of the Wye over against Beachley. It must have taken

place about the middle of September, as on the 24th of that month Massey captured Monmouth.

No sooner did Sir John Winter hear that Massey was gone than he brought what forces he could collect, occupied the camp at Beachley, and set about continuing Rupert's unfinished earthworks. But fortune did not smile on this enterprise any more than on that of the Prince. Massey hastened from Monmouth, and attacked the encampment on October 14th, 1644, when a desperate encounter ensued. Massey led the storming-party in person, and seems to have had a narrow escape of losing his life, as his helmet was beaten off his head. He was again victorious, and captured 230 prisoners, while thirty men were slain and many more drowned.

There is a romantic story that Sir John Winter, being hard pressed by his pursuers, only escaped by making his horse jump into the river Wye from a cliff nearly 200 yards high, which is known as "Winter's Leap" to this day. A more credible account is, says the Rev. John Webb,[1] that, being pursued over Tidenham Chace, he rode down the steep timber shoot which lies between the rocks below the white cliffs at Lancaut.

In February of this year ($164\frac{4}{5}$) Winter was again defeated by Massey, and driven with considerable loss from some house which he had fortified and garrisoned at Lancaut. This is probably the engagement which is loosely and hurriedly described in a tract bearing the misleading title of *A Great Victory Obtained by Colonel Massey at the Storming of Sir John Winter's House.* This tract has given rise to the belief that White Cross House was taken by Massey. That house, as far as I know, never was taken, though it was besieged by Massey about two months after the date of this tract.

In the spring of 1645 Gloucestershire was in a most deplorable condition. Pillaged alike by Royalists and Roundheads until, it is said, there were scarcely any goods

[1] *Bibl. Glouc.*, vol. i., p. xcviii.

or cattle to be found between Gloucester and Cirencester. And the Forest of Dean suffered more severely than any other part, for Prince Rupert had free access to it from Herefordshire, where he had collected a strong body of cavalry. These forces, comprising 500 horse led by the Prince, Sir Marmaduke Langdale's brigade of 1,500 horse, Sir Jacob Astley's three regiments of infantry, as well as some forces under Lord Herbert, entered the Forest on the 2nd April, 1645. They attempted to increase their forces, and a warrant, signed by Langdale and Barnard, and dated April 14th, 1645, was addressed "To the Constables, Tithing-men and Inhabitants of Little Dean," desiring "that, without delay or excuse, all men betwixt the age of 16 years and 60 doe come in and appear before us at Clowerwale Mine the 16th of this month of April. And that they bring in all their armes with them." And the warrant proceeded to promise protection to the estates of all such who came, but to threaten "all the miseries and ruines which war can effect" to those who continned in their "rebellious obstanacie."

This incursion into the Forest is thus described in "*A Perfect Declaration of the Proceedings in Parliament*" for the week ending April 26th, 1645: "This weeke Pr. Rupert with his other great Commanders and Souldiers came againe into the Forrest, being 1,500 Horse and about 500 or 600 Foot, where they burnt in two or three parishes all the houses which were little better than cottages, and might be the last advantage for any souldier to shelter in, plundered all exceedingly, burnt some of the Iron Mills." So great was the panic at this time that it is said that many of the inhabitants fled from their houses and hid themselves in the mines.

Massey in one of his despatches[1] says that he did what he could to protect the country, and that he succeeded in the lower parts towards Severn-side. It is stated in "*The Moderate Intelligencer*" (a Parliamentary News-book) for April 10–17, 1645, that "the enemy lords it in all the Forest, plunders as

[1] Printed in the *Mercurius Veridicus*. See *Bibl. Glouc.*, vol. i., c. i.

if they had been going to Ireland or some other place of want, and never intending to return."

In April, 1645, Massey blockaded White Cross House, but was forced to retire. This is alluded to in a letter from Sir John Winter to someone in authority at Oxford, which is said to have been intercepted by Massey. It is given in the "*Perfect Diurnal*" for April 26th, 1645, and is as follows:

"May it please your Lordship.

"The occasion of my present addresse unto your Lordship is to satisfy you with some late passages in these parts; the last week Col. Massey with the Glostershire forces came before my house and (being very numerous and potent) made an assault upon one of our works, which was received and returned by my men with as much valour as could be expected, but being over-powered they gained a Home Worke and took two pieces of Ordnance in it, upon this the Rebells having gained so great an advantage upon me, I was put to it, to do what I could for the safeguard of the garrison, and thereupon to prevent their doing further mischiefe, I appointed some of my souldiers to fire the barns and outhouses, but the Rebells came so fast upon them, that although it took fire, yet it did not prove effectuall, being frequently extinguished by them, and so they got the houses: after this I sent out a partie of 200 horse and foot to beat them out of the houses, but a partie of the Rebells got between my men and the house [? horse], fell upon them on both sides and put many of them to the sword, and not one of them escaped to me, by which means this garrison is much weakened Sir, I beseach you not to neglect to use your best indeavours for the sending of speedy supplies for my relief, and suffer him not to perish (my Lord) who is your Lordships humble Servant, J. Winter."

The Royalist army left Gloucestershire in May, 1645, and Winter seeing that he was incapable of further resistance, "resolved that his house should never harbour his enemies," and having removed from it the lead and furniture, burned it to the ground, and joined the Queen in France.

His estate was, on September 29th in the same year, granted by Parliament to Massey, "in consideration for his good and faithful service which he hath done for the Kingdom." I do not think that Massey ever enjoyed it, and it was, after a few years, re-conveyed to Winter.

This is the last noteworthy incident that occurred in the Forest of Dean during the Civil War of which I can find

any record. When the war was over some of the Foresters seem to have got tired of the Commonwealth. After the schism between the Presbyterians and Independents, Massey, with many of the former, became an adherent of Charles II., by whom, on the death of Cromwell, he was sent on a secret mission to England. He came at once to Gloucestershire to ascertain the disposition of the people, and there, it is said, he found many in the Forest of Dean favourable to the King.

THE BENEDICTINE REVIVAL IN THE HUICCIAN MONASTERIES.

By The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR,
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There is but little to relate of secular interest with regard to tenth century Gloucestershire after the accession of Athelstan. William of Malmesbury has indeed many things to tell of Athelstan (*Gesta Regum* ii. 6), for that king was a great benefactor to Malmesbury; among other things he says that he fixed the Wye as the boundary between England and Wales. But it is probable that the Forest of Dean was subject to Hereford, and not to Gloucester, until quite the end of the tenth century. Athelstan died at Gloucester on October 27th, 940, and was buried in Malmesbury abbey.

His brother and successor, Edmund, was murdered at Pucklechurch on the Feast of Augustine, Apostle of the English, May 25th, 946. No doubt he had come thither for the purpose of hunting in the forest, which, under the names of Kingswood and Horwood, extended even in the thirteenth century from the Bristol to the Berkeley Avon, and from the foot of the Cotswolds to the Severn Sea. The land at Pucklechurch described as containing twenty-five cassates was given to Glastonbury abbey by King Eadred in 950 for the good of his brother's soul. It appears in Domesday among the possessions of the abbey, being there rated at twenty hides; and it continued to belong to Glastonbury until 1218, when it was surrendered by the monks to Bishop Jocelin of Bath and Wells, who was holding the abbey as abbot in connection with his see, as a part of the price of their independence.

King Eadred does not seem to have left his mark upon Gloucestershire, unless indeed we may connect his name with the Domesday Hundred of Edredestane in the south-east of the county, and the three-shire stone on the Fosse at the point of meeting of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and

Wilts. If we do this, we may perhaps go further and guess that the hundred was formed when Bath was transferred to Wessex, or possibly on the occasion of some re-edification of the church of Bath, which S. Dunstan would have been likely enough to suggest, and Eadred to carry out.

In truth, however, just as the history of the shire from 850 to 925 is mainly concerned with the Danish invasions, so its history from 950 to 1025 is mainly ecclesiastical, being connected with the revival of the monastic life under the influence of the Benedictine system introduced from abroad by Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold.

This Benedictine revival seems scarcely to have received the attention which it deserves. It brought new life into the English monasteries; and with the new life, a revival of learning and energy to the English Church. And as the revival can best be studied in connection with the Huiccian monasteries, partly because of the comparative abundance of materials, and partly because Oswald was the wisest and really the most successful of the reforming Triumvirate, it seemed well in carrying on the history of the shire in Anglo-Saxon times to take the revival of the monastic life as the distinguishing mark of the end of the tenth century.

Learning seems to have already perished from England before the time of King Alfred; we gather this from the words both of the king himself and of Asser, whom he summoned from Wales to the bishopstool at Sherborne. The king wrote thus in the introduction to his translation of St. Gregory's Pastoral Care: "When I remembered all this," —how completely learning had decayed,—"then remembered I also how I saw before that it was all ravaged and burned, how the churches throughout all England stood filled with treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of the servants of God; but they knew very little of the use of the books, because they could not understand anything of them, because they were not written in their own tongue. As if they said: 'Our elders when they held these places loved learning, and through this they obtained wealth. Here one

may yet see their track; but we cannot follow after them, since we have now lost both riches and learning, because we would not not follow their footsteps with all our heart.'"

Asser, when relating how the king was compelled to call in learned men from other lands to inhabit his monastery at Athelney, bears witness to the same condition of things: "Because he had no noble or free man of his own nation who would willingly submit to the monastic life, except children, who on account of their tender age were neither able to refuse the evil nor to choose the good, for truly the love of that life had completely died away for many years past from that whole nation as well as from many others. For although very many monasteries remain standing even yet in that country, no one occupies them according to the regular order of the rule of that life; I know not why, whether it be on account of the ravages of the foreigners who so frequently invade it both by land and sea, or even on account of the too great abundance of all kinds of riches among that people, on account of which chiefly I think that sort of despised monastic life has grown up. Therefore it was that he set himself to gather monks of another race in his monastery."[1]

Asser's subscriptions as bishop range from 900 to 904, and his account precisely agrees with that of King Alfred.

In many parts of the country the monasteries were still standing, stripped very probably of the treasures which the king had seen in earlier days, and with their books neglected and unopened because no one could read them; inhabited only by those who followed no regular rule of life, who were too ignorant to follow the appointed course of the services of the church, and too slothful to attempt to revive the study of that learning in which their forefathers had excelled. Indeed, Asser seems to imply that it was the very wealth of the monasteries rather than the Danish invasions that had been the occasion of the downfall of the monastic life; and certainly King Alfred implies that learning had died out before the worst

[1] *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 493 D.

period of the Danish invasions commenced. It would almost seem that in the ninth century, as afterwards in the sixteenth, the usefulness of the monasteries was well-nigh spent, and that the plunderers did but destroy a system from which the purer life and the truer glory of early days had departed.

King Alfred planned a reformation of the monasteries, and to some extent effected it. Worcester supplied him with a few English scholars; others, such as Grimbald, John the Old Saxon, and Asser, he summoned from abroad. He founded new monasteries at Newminster and Athelney, and he and his lady founded nunneries at Shaftesbury and Winchester. Among the Huiccians, we have seen that Ethelred and Ethelfleda founded the monastery of St. Oswald at Gloucester, and secured the rights of the cathedral at Worcester and St. Peter's monastery at Gloucester.

But the results of the effort soon died away; they do not seem to have outlasted the generation which followed the great king. Edward the Elder was not a man of letters, and though he does not seem to have discouraged learning did but little to foster it.

The following list of the abbots whose names can be traced in documents now extant, between the accession of Athelstan in 925 and the accession of Edgar in 959, tells its own tale. It is taken from Mr. Walter de Gray Birch's *Saxon Abbots*, 1872, and a comparison of the wealth of the signatures of abbots in the palmy days of the old monasticism, or for a similar period after the Benedictine Revival in the reign of Edgar, will show the low estate of the monasteries at this time: –

Ælfric	... ...	921—933	
Eadwine	... ...	921—933	
Æthelnoth	... ...	931—933	
Cynath	... ...	922—930	
Seaxhelm	... ...	931—932	
Biorhsige	... ...	931—933	
Eadred	... ...	917—932	
Aldred	... ...	933	
Eadred	... ...	946	
Wigstan	... ...	946—949	
Dunstan	... ...	949—955	
Eadhelm	... ...	949—952	
Wulfric	... ...	c. 949	
Ealdred	... ...	949—983	
Wulfgar	... ...	956—957	
Athelwold	... ...	956—963	
Clemens	... ...	956—959	
Alfwold	... ...	956—963	
Ælfric	... ...	959—969	

It will be seen that from 933 to 946, the year of the accession of Eadred, there is not a single signature of an abbot. As we can hardly suppose that the abbacies were all vacant, no doubt the reason of their absence lies in the fact that the monastic life had fallen into so degraded a state that the abbots were no longer considered worthy to be summoned with the great men of the land to the councils of the king. Eadred was much under the influence of Dunstan, and in his reign monasticism began to revive.

Neither the state of the fabrics of the monasteries nor the condition of their inmates seems to have been any better than it was in the time of King Alfred, half a century earlier. Doubtless Abingdon was a type of what the religious houses commonly were at that time, and a very sad description is given of it in the life of St. Athelwold[1]: "Then it pleased King Eadred, on the advice of his mother, to grant to the venerable Athelwold a certain place called Abbandun, in which of old a small monastery was kept, but at that time it was waste and neglected, composed of wretched buildings, and possessing only forty farms[2]; the remainder of the estate, that is to say one hundred farms,[3] the king was holding in right of the Crown."

The king's invasion of the property of the abbey may be illustrated from some grants of King Edwy of land which really belonged to the abbey of Bath. In 956 he granted to his friend Hehelm five "mansas" at Bathampton; in 957 he granted ten "mansas" at Bathford to the abbey; and by another document, the date of which is doubtful, he granted five "mansiunculas" at Weston also to the abbey. In the last case the grant is distinctly said to be a restoration of property which had been stolen from the church. It is worth noting as a mark of the permanence of the old land-divisions, that in Domesday, compiled one hundred and thirty years later, Bathampton is rated at five hides, Bathford at ten hides, and a portion of Weston at five hides.

There can be very little doubt that in the middle of the tenth century the buildings of most of the English monasteries

[1] *Hist. Abendon*, ii. 257, Roll Series. [2] Mansiones. [3] Cassatos.

would have been no better than those of Abingdon, even if they were not entirely ruins standing in a waste, as Bishop Ethelwold found on the site of Medehamstede, plundered by the Danes in 870, nothing but old walls and wild woods.

And the condition of the life of the inmates was no better than that of the buildings. We have from the biographies of St. Oswald and St. Ethelwold a very sad account of the state of the Cathedral monastery at Winchester at this time. Elfric, narrating the life of St. Ethelwold before the end of the tenth century, writes thus: "There were at that time in the old monastery, where the Bishopstool was placed, evilly-conducted clerks, so given up to pride, and haughtiness, and extravagance, that some of them even disdained to say their masses in their course; putting away their wives (whom they had married secretly) and taking others, they were wholly given up to gluttony and drunkenness."[1] Wherefore St. Ethelwold drove them out, and brought in monks from Abingdon; three only of the clerks, Eadsin, Wulfsin, and Wilstan, accepting the monastic habit.

The biographer of St. Oswald bears similar testimony.[2] After telling how Oswald had bought the monastery of Winchester with the gifts of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who was his uncle, he proceeds: "He was daily conspicuous in silken attire, and fared sumptuously every day; things which earthly riches and dignity provided for him, yet which he held for Christ, and not for himself, as the event proved. There were in those days no monks, nor men of that rule of life, in England; but there were religious and most dignified clerks, who nevertheless were accustomed to bestow the riches which they heaped up with greedy minds, not in honour of the Church, but on their wives. Among whom the upright youth sojourned like Lot among the Sodomites." He was, however, disgusted with the life, and obtained leave of Archbishop Odo to retire to Fleury.

It is a singular thing that at the beginning of 959, both

[1] *Hist. Abendon*, ii. 260, Rolls Series.

[2] *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, i. 411. This authority is quoted as *Historians, &c.*

the archbishops, Odo of Canterbury and Oskytel of York, were of Danish extraction; and it was from abroad that the impulse came which led to the reformation of the monasteries. There was much intercourse between England and the mainland of Europe in the early part of the tenth century. No fewer than five of King Edward's daughters found husbands on the Continent: Edgiva married Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks; another Edgiva married Lewis, king of Arles; Eadhild married Hugh, duke of the French; when Henry, king of the East Franks, sent to Athelstan to ask him for one of his sisters as a wife for his son Otto, Athelstan from his abundance sent two sisters, of whom Otto chose Edith as his wife; while the other, Elgiva, was given to a prince near the Alps.

There is no doubt also that the wiser prelates, such as Odo, bishop of Ramsbury 927—942, archbishop of Canterbury 942—959, who had indeed taken the Benedictine habit at Fleury, and Elphege the Bald, bishop of Winchester 934—951, were in favour of the introduction of the Benedictine form of monasticism; but it seems clear also that Benedictinism was not introduced in its purity before the reign of Edgar.

Dunstan had indeed become abbot of Glastonbury in 949, and had introduced some form of monastic habit: but his monastery was rather of the nature of a school than a convent[1]; and the same statement would probably hold true of Abingdon under Ethelwold.

We have seen that Oswald, in disgust at the life of the clerks at Winchester, had retired to the Benedictine monastery of Fleury on the Loire. When Dunstan was driven from England by Edwy, he took refuge in the Benedictine house of St. Peter at Blandinium in Flanders, where he remained for a year. When Oswald and Ethelwold were settled in their sees, it was from abroad that they sought for teachers of the new monasticism; and it is by no means improbable that its foreign origin was one of the principal causes of the early unpopularity of the Benedictine system.

[1] Stubbs, *Memorials of S. Dunstan*, lxxxv.

When Oswald founded his settlement at Westbury-on-Trym, he summoned Germanus to him, who had gone from Winchester to Fleury, and remained there many months. He brought over several learned men from France, among whom was Abbo of Fleury, whom he placed over the abbey of Ramsey; and he sent a monk of his own name to visit various continental monasteries. Ethelwold pursued the same course. He sent Osgar, who had followed him from Glastonbury to Abingdon and who succeeded him in the latter monastery, to Fleury for instruction, and he invited some monks of Corbey to come to Abingdon to serve as instructors. Benedictinism was at first as completely a foreign system as was the Protestantism which was in later days imported from abroad, in the reign of Edward VI., and by the Marian exiles under Elizabeth.

To pass to the establishment of the Benedictine system in the Huiccian monasteries. Kinewold, who had been consecrated bishop of Worcester in 929, and who immediately after his consecration had visited the monasteries of Germany with presents from Athelstan, and had concluded a league of mutual prayer with the monks of S. Gall,[1] died in 957; and Edgar, who had been chosen king by the Mercians, at once appointed Dunstan to the vacant see, which he held till the death of Archbishop Odo on June 2nd, 959, when he was translated to Canterbury. Whatever the sympathies of Dunstan may have been, the clerks remained undisturbed in the Huiccian monasteries during the three years of his episcopate, exactly as they remained in the Canterbury chapter during the twenty-eight years of his primacy.

Shortly before his death, Archbishop Odo summoned Oswald to him, who on arriving at Dover received the news of his uncle's death. He went at once to Oskytel, archbishop of York, to whom also he was related, who recommended him to all his friends, especially to Dunstan, on whose advice he was appointed to the see of Worcester in 961.[2]

There is no doubt that Oswald would have been glad to

[1] *Memorials of S. Dunstan*, lxxv. [2] *Historians, &c.*, i. 419.

see the Benedictine system established in the Huiccian monasteries without delay. But he had seen a good deal of the world, and must have been well aware of the difficulties which he would have to face. Therefore he made no attempt to introduce the system at first either into the cathedral or into any of the larger monasteries; but he took the church of Westbury-on-Trym, which was a dependency of the cathedral, and over which as bishop he had control, and there he planted the first purely Benedictine settlement in England. His intention being evidently to show what the Benedictine system was by a living example, and thus gradually to introduce the more excellent way into other churches as opportunity offered, when people had been convinced of its superiority.

The settlement at Westbury seems to have been one of the first acts of Oswald's episcopate. We are told that very many faithful clerks came to place themselves under his discipline, so that after the lapse of a very few months the little company exceeded the sacred number of the Apostolate. They were placed under the care of Eadnoth, and Germanus returned from Fleury to instruct them.[1]

It is a proof of the wonderful wisdom and patience of Oswald that he made no attempt to hurry matters. For very nearly ten years Benedictinism in his diocese was confined to the remote valley of Westbury-on-Trym, though in Wessex and East Anglia the system had been growing apace.

On the Vigil of St. Andrew, 963, Ethelwold was consecrated bishop of Winchester; and in the following year the clerks were driven by the king's command from the cathedral monastery and Newminster at Winchester, and from the monasteries at Chertsey and Milton. Also at Ethelwold's request, the king gave him all the monasteries which had been destroyed by the heathen, that he might restore them. Ethelwold therefore restored the monasteries at Ely and Medehamstede, setting an abbot and monks in each place.

A document is extant purporting to be a charter of King

[1] *Historians, &c.*, i. 423.

Edgar, granted at Gloucester on the Feast of Holy Innocents, 964, in which the king is made to say that he has already founded forty-seven monasteries for monks and nuns, and hopes to complete the number of fifty. He then grants all the possessions of the Church at Worcester to the monks whom Oswald had settled there, and confirms the appointment of Wynsige as their provost; and, finally, bestows and confirms various possessions and privileges. But there can be no doubt that the document in its present form is not genuine. It is marked by Kemble as doubtful; Thorpe suspects that the preamble was fabricated or interpolated about 1154, when Henry II. was meditating an invasion of Ireland; it is not found in *Heming's Cartulary;* the earliest copy dates from the twelfth century; and finally, though grants of the cathedral land are frequent, the name of Wynsige does not occur in any of them before 969.

And there can be very little doubt that it was not till 969 that the Benedictine system was introduced into the Mercian monasteries. Florence of Worcester states that in that year[1]: "Eadgar the Peaceful, king of the English, commanded St. Dunstan bishop of the church of Canterbury, St. Oswald of Worcester, and St. Ethelwold of Winchester, that after driving out the clerks, they should place monks in the greater monasteries which were founded throughout Mercia. Therefore Oswald, having obtained his wish, drove out of the monastery at Worcester the clerks who refused to take the monastic habit; but of those who consented he made monks in that same year, and set over them in place of Dean, Winsy a monk of Ramsey, a man of great piety." Accordingly we find that Osward of Evesham, and Foldbriht of Pershore, and Ælfheah of Deerhurst, begin to sign as abbots in 970.

There can be very little doubt that the delay in the establishment of the Benedictine system in the Mercian monasteries was due to the opposition of Elfhere, Ealdorman of the Mercians, a relative of King Edgar, whom we shall

[1] *M. H. B.*, 577 B.

find persecuting the monks when the king died. And his opposition caused Oswald considerable anxiety. For we are told that though he was well satisfied with his settlement at Westbury, yet he feared that when he died all his work would be undone. Therefore he sought the protection of King Edgar. The king was so well pleased with Oswald's work that he ordered more than forty monasteries to be established on the model of the one at Westbury; and offered to Oswald the choice of St. Albans, Ely, or Benfleet in Essex as a home for his monks.[1]

It would seem from the entry in the Peterborough Chronicle that very soon after his consecration in 963, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, restored the monastery at Ely; the date of this interview therefore can hardly be placed later than 965. It is worth noticing that Ely and Benfleet, and probably also St. Albans, lay in East Anglia, outside the dominion of Elfhere. As the settlement at Westbury was evidently in working order before the consecration of Ethelwold, it would have served as a model for the West Saxon monasteries, as well as for those in Mercia.

The biographer of St. Oswald, after describing the coronation of Edgar at Bath, at Pentecost 973, states that seven monasteries had already been founded in the province of the[2] Huiccians, by the direction of the king, under the rule of the bishop.[3] It is very easy to identify six of these. They were: Westbury-on-Trym, the mother of them all, the Cathedral monastery at Worcester, Evesham, Winchcombe, Pershore, and Deerhurst. It is not easy to say where the seventh lay. The natural church to name would be Bath; but we find Æscwig, who was abbot of Bath, signing two charters, the genuineness of which there seems to be no reason to doubt, in 963. It would seem possible, therefore, that Benedictinism came to Bath under West-Saxon rather than under Huiccian influence, and that Bath had already been taken into Wessex. Still it is also possible that Oswald

[1] *Historians, &c.*, i. 425–7. [2] Wicisca. [3] *Historians, &c.*, i. 439.

from his church at Westbury had been able to impose the new system on the church of Bath; and this is the more likely, inasmuch as both charters are signed by Ethelwold "Abbas," showing that Æscwig had become abbot of Bath before Ethelwold was consecrated to the see of Winchester on St. Andrew's Eve, 963, and of course before the expulsion of the clerks from the West-Saxon monasteries in 964. It may be, therefore, that in the early days of his episcopate Oswald had been able to remodel the abbey of Bath, but that in consequence of the opposition of Elfhere he could effect nothing more until 969. In this case, Bath would still have been Huiccian in 963; and certainly, unless the seventh Huiccian monastery did lie at Bath, there is no clue to its position.

It will be best to consider the history of each of the remodelled churches separately. Little more need be said about Westbury; no doubt when the Cathedral became Benedictine it sank from subordination into neglect, and a century later it was so utterly ruined and decayed that it was served by only one priest, and he officiated but infrequently.

What happened at Worcester can best be learned from a comparison of a list of the chapter drawn from deeds of 967 with a list of the year 974:—

974.	967.
Oswold, Archiepiscopus.	Oswold.
Wynsige, Presbyter.	
Wulfric ,,	Wulfric, Presbyter.
Wulfheah ,,	Wulfheah, Clericus.
Æthelstan ,,	Æthelstan, Presbyter.
Ælfsige ,,	
Eadgar ,,	Eadgar ,
Wistan ,,	Wistan ,,
Eadweard ,,	(Æstan, Presbyter).
Ælfgar, Diaconus.	Ælfgar, Clericus.
Godincg ,,	
Leofstan ,,	
Æthelsige ,,	
Wulfweard ,,	
Cynethegn, Clericus.	

974.		967.	
Leofwine,	Clericus.	Leofwine,	Clericus.
Brihstan	,,	Byrhstan	,,
Wulfhun	,,	Wulfhun	,,
Wulfgar	,,	Wulfgar	,,
Cynestan	,,		
Eadwine	,,	Edwine	,,
Wynstan	,,	Wynstan	,,
Ælfnoth	,,		
Æthelric	,,		
Wulfnoth	,,	Wulfnoth,	Clericus.
		Ælfred	,,
		Ælfstan	,,
		Ufic	,, (984).
		Æthelstan	,,
		Wulfwine	,,
		Tuna	,,
		Wenstan	,,

Thus we find the names of all the priests who were serving in the secular chapter in 967 in the list of the monastic chapter of 974, with the exception of Æstan, which is only found in one list, and is probably an abbreviation for Æthelstan. One clerk, Wulfheah, had been ordained priest, and another, Ælfgar, had entered deacon's orders. Two priests only, Ælfsige and Eadweard, had not been members of the chapter seven years before. The earlier lists contain few names of deacons as such; but all the names of clerks which occur in the earlier lists are found in the later one, with the exception of seven, and of these Ufic is found in a list of 984. In short, of the twenty or twenty-one members of the unreformed chapter in 967, no fewer than fourteen, including probably all the priests, continued their membership after the chapter had become monastic under the monk Wynsige in 969.

It is interesting to compare the method in which each of the three great prelates, who were mainly responsible for the introduction of the Benedictine system, dealt with their Cathedrals. Dunstan effected nothing either at Worcester or Canterbury, though he must have realised that he was

tolerating, and thereby encouraging, an inferior system in the Mother Church of all the English. Ethelwold, by an imperious and high-handed exercise of authority, alienated all the clergy of the Cathedral at Winchester except three. Oswald, by the exercise of patience and gentleness, was enabled to carry with him practically the whole of his chapter. Judging from the history of the times, each prelate was a thoroughly good and earnest man; but it is easy to see which in this respect was the wiser man, and whose was the more excellent way.

It is worth noting in this connection that the statement made in many books that Oswald so impoverished the secular clergy of the Cathedral by lavish grants of land, that he was enabled to prepare the way for the settlement of the monks, is a manifest absurdity. Because the grants are signed by the secular clergy themselves, since no grant of chapter land would have been valid if it had been made simply by the Bishop without the consent of the chapter, and the seculars would scarcely have been so stupid as to impoverish themselves. Moreover, as we have seen, by far the larger number of the secular chapter accepted the Benedictine system. The truth is that the grants are leases of the ordinary type of the period, of which abundant instances will be found in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* in the case of the estates of other churches; the interests of the church are amply secured in them, and many of them are distinctly stated to have been made with the consent of Elfhere, the persecutor of the monks.

In 972 Oswald became archbishop of York, still holding the see of Worcester, and in 983 he completed the building of the new Cathedral of St. Mary in the churchyard of St. Peter, and from henceforth the Bishopstool was placed in St. Mary's. But, judging from a grant of land "æt Caldingcotan," bearing date 984,[1] except that the names of Wulfric and Wulfheah have disappeared, probably on account of death, and that the Deacon Æthelsige had entered priest's

[1] Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 207.

orders, the list of priests is the same as in 974; only one name, Ælfgar, has disappeared from the list of deacons; and of the eight clerks mentioned seven had been members of the chapter ten years before. Thus we see that there was no break in the continuity of the family at Worcester; the same members are found before and after the acceptance of the Benedictine rule, forming the chapter both in the old secular Cathedral of St. Peter and in the new monastic Cathedral of St. Mary.

King Edgar died on July 8th, 975, and immediately Oswald's forebodings were fulfilled, for a furious persecution of the Benedictine system was commenced under the direction of Elfhere. His biographer tells us that: "Abbots and their monks were driven out, clerks and their wives were brought in, so that the last error was worse than the first."[1] Amongst others, Abbot Germanus was driven out of Winchcombe. The persecution, however, did not extend to the East Anglian monasteries, which were protected by the leading men of the district, especially by Ethelwine, who, under Oswald's advice, had founded the Abbey of Ramsey, and Brihtnoth, the hero of Maldon.

The monks were evidently generally unpopular, for the biographer tells us that Elfhere drove out the monks "by the advice of the people, and with the applause of the mob," and also, "that in those days if the low-born mob saw a monk they would hoot him." It was natural, of course, that a system, the introduction of which must have caused a good deal of disturbance, and which had not yet been in existence long enough to prove its value, should have been unpopular. But the biographer laments that "you might see those who were accustomed to ride on caparisoned horses, carrying their burdens, or walking with their companions or friends, without baggage, and without shoes, and thus unwillingly fulfilling the words of the holy evangelist." And perhaps even the low-born mob were not far wrong if they thought that ornaments, if such there must be, were

[1] *Historians, &c.*, i. 443.

better placed on the wives of clerks than on the horses of monks. It may be that all the Benedictines were not so wise as Oswald.

However, Elfhere died in 983, and under his son Elfric the persecution ceased. Ethelred the Unready became king in 978; Dunstan died May 19, 988; the Danes had invaded the land at Watchet in the preceding year, and for the space of a whole generation a condition of most utter misery and wretchedness existed in the land; through which it will be best as far as possible to trace the history of the monasteries singly.

EVESHAM.

The chronicler of the Abbey of Evesham gives a fairly complete account of the history of the Church between 969 and 1016, the substantial accuracy of which there seems to be no reason to doubt.[1] He states that when Edgar commanded the churches to be restored Oswald was appointed abbot. When Elfhere drove out the monks on the death of Edgar, he gave Evesham to Freodegar, a monk, who exchanged it with Godwin for Towcester; King Ethelred being bribed, gave it first to Bishop Agelsie and then to Bishop Æthelstan. On his death, Aldulf, Bishop of Worcester, obtained it, and appointed Alfric abbot, and when he died Brihtmær became abbot. All this time Godwin had held forty hides of the abbey land, which Brihtmær redeemed. Agelwin succeeded as abbot, and on his death Godwin resumed the land, but in 1014 he was finally expelled by Abbot Ælfweard, and he was slain at Assandun in 1016. When Ælfweard became Bishop of London he still continued to hold the abbey.

Nearly all the persons mentioned by the chronicler can be identified. The name of Osward appears among the witnesses to a genuine document in 970, and in others marked by Kemble as doubtful in 972 and 974. The Godwin who obtained Evesham in exchange for Towcester is supposed by Mr. Freeman to have been Godwin Ealdorman of

[1] *Chroniele Abbatiæ de Evesham.* Rolls Series, p. 77.

Lindesey, who certainly did meet his death at Assandun.[1] Probably the estates of the Church were at this time wholly secularised, either entirely in the hands of Godwin, or partly in his hands and partly in those of the king, until Ethelred in return for payment granted them less the forty hides retained by Godwin, to Bishop Agelsie. This was, no doubt, Ethelsige, Bishop of Sherborne 978-992, who was a member of an embassy to Richard the Good, Duke of Normandy in 991.[2] Aldulf was Bishop of Worcester 992-1002, and the signatures of Alfric, whom he appointed to the abbacy, range from 994 to 997. Brihtmær, who entered only on a maimed inheritance, succeeded in recovering the lands which Godwin held *coram multis principibus hujus patriæ*, an expression which probably implies a decision of the Witan. Agelwin may possibly be the abbot who signed as Æthelwin in July, 1012. At any rate he did not live long, for after his death and before 1014, Godwin resumed possession of the forty hides, possibly, as Mr. Freeman supposes, in virtue of a grant from Swegen, to whom Lindesey submitted in the summer of 1013.[3] In 1014, however, Ælfweard had been appointed abbot, no doubt by Ethelred on his return to England after the death of Swegen, and he lost no time in finally expelling Godwin. Ælfweard became Bishop of London in 1035, but retained the abbacy of Evesham until his death. His end was a sad one; he was smitten with leprosy, and returned from his episcopal throne to die his living death in his abbey of Evesham; the brethren refused to receive him, and he took refuge at Ramsey, where in yet earlier days he had been a monk. Robert of Jumieges was appointed bishop in his room.

I have dealt thus in detail on the fate of the estate of Evesham, because it is the only one of the Huiccian Benedictine monasteries whose history is complete during the period under consideration. And no doubt what was true of Evesham was true in at least as great a degree of the other

[1] *Norman Conquest*, i., 510. [2] Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i., 286.
[3] *Norman Conquest*, i, 510.

churches. In all, without doubt, there would have been the same story of secularisation, of invasions by powerful laymen, of attempts more or less successful by prelates to recover the lands for their proper uses.

The confusion which was wrought by the persecution under Elfhere was intensified during the miserable reign of Ethelred, and it was not until the firm rule of Cnut had brought back peace and order that the monasteries revived, in too many instances however only with a maimed inheritance and crippled resources.

WINCHCOMBE.

Winchcombe became Benedictine at the same time with the Cathedral at Worcester, *i.e.* in 969. The biographer of St. Oswald tells us that "he appointed two monasteries, that is to say one in the city in which he ruled as bishop, the other in Winchcombe, over which he set Germanus, the dean of the monastery at Ramsey."[1] He records also that Germanus and his monks were driven out of Winchcombe in the persecution under Elfhere.

So far as I am aware nothing more is known about the abbey until the reign of Cnut, when we find Ælfword mentioned as abbot in 1023.[2] The signatures of Godwin as abbot occur from 1042 till his death in October, 1053. Then Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester, held it for awhile, till on July 17, of the next year he resigned it to Godric, the son of Godman, a king's chaplain. Godric held the abbey till after the Conquest, when in 1068 or 1069 he seems to have been concerned in some local resistance to the Conqueror, on which acccunt the abbey was committed for some three years to the care of Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham, while Godric himself was first placed in ward at Gloucester, and then likewise committed to the care of Æthelwig. It is said also that the Conqueror deprived the monastery of many of its lands; but if this were so their loss had been more than repaired by the date of the Survey; for there we find that

[1] *Historians, &c.*, i., 435. [2] Kemble, 738.

of the seventy-eight hides pertaining to the abbey fifteen were quit of geld, while T.R.E. the church had defended itself or paid geld on only sixty hides. So that the total of geld-paying hides was larger by three in the time of the Conqueror than in that of his predecessor; and this is not likely to have been the result of any deprivation of exemptions, for the Conqueror was not a robber of churches.

PERSHORE.

The first Benedictine Abbot of Pershore was Foldbriht, whose name occurs in documents accepted as genuine by Kemble at various dates between 970 and 978. The biographer of St. Oswald tells us[1] that to those who did not know him well he appeared to be hard and stern, and he relates an incident of his last illness, that when his end seemed to be drawing near he sent for Abbot Germanus, who also summoned Abbot Ælphege, who was very dear to him; that when they came he made his confession according to custom, and they duly anointed him with the holy oil; that he then seemed to die, but revived, and lived for half a day.

The next abbot whose name I have been able to trace was Brihteag, who, according to Florence, was a nephew of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and who was consecrated to the Bishopstool at Worcester in 1033. There is nothing to show the exact date of his accession to the abbacy; but we shall probably not be far wrong if we place it before the death of Wulfstan in 1023, and also most likely after Cnut became king in 1016.

At some period between the days of Abbot Foldbriht and the great Survey, Pershore had been deprived of a very large portion of its property.

A charter of confirmation of lands and privileges purporting to be granted by King Edgar in 972 is extant. With regard to it Mr. Earle says:[2] "Kemble stigmatized it, but Mr. Bond has passed it without remark; and Mr. Macray,

[1] *Historians, &c.*, i., 439. [2] *Land Charters*, 441.

who kindly examined it at my request, saw nothing suspicious in the handwriting." We may add that the very fact that the document mentions so many lands as belonging to Pershore, which at the time of the great Survey were in the possession of powerful men, and of so important a monastery as Westminster, is a striking testimony to its genuineness. It is much more easy to see how the lands might pass from Pershore, than it is to imagine any period or circumstances in which such a document could be fabricated with any hope of success.

It will be noticed that in the cases of Dyrham, Longney, and Lydney, the number of hides in Domesday agrees exactly with the number of "mansi" mentioned in King Edgar's charter; in Acton Turville the hides exceed the "mansi," and in the Hawkesbury group thirty hides correspond to forty "mansi." It is not easy to account for this last discrepancy. Possibly, xvii. in the record of the hidage in Domesday is an error for xxvii., and the larger hidage would agree better with the area of Hawkesbury; on the other hand, the number of teams on the manor agrees better with the smaller hidage, and emendations in the text of the great Survey are not to be lightly suggested.

It is impossible to say at what date after 972 the lands had passed from the church. But inasmuch as King Edgar's Charter states that some of the lands had been stolen, and were held as family possessions on false title deeds, no doubt the holders, who would have been dispossessed by Foldbriht, would have striven to re-enter into possession either on his death or in the persecution which arose under Elfhere. It is curious that none of the Pershore lands in Gloucestershire were granted to Westminster Abbey, on which foundation so much of its Worcestershire property was bestowed by King Edward; this would seem to show that most had been abstracted before the Confessor's days, though Lydney remained to the abbey till the earlier part of the Conqueror's reign.

The following Table shews the distribution at the date of Domesday of the property in Gloucestershire which in 972 had belonged to Pershore.

972.	Mansi.	1086.	Hides.	Owner T.R.E.	Domesday Lord.
Actune	3	Achetone	5	Edric	Ernulf de Hesding
Suthstoce ...					
Uptun					
Tresham ...		Havochesberie ...	17	Eccl. de Persore	Eccl. de Persore
Cyllingcotan ...					
Hilleahe ...	40	Hildeslei	1	Aluric	Turstin f. Rolf
Ealdanbyri ...		Aldeberie	5	Edric	Ernulf de Hesding
Dydimeretune		Dedmertone ...	3	Leuuin de Herald Com.	Durandus de Glow.
Badimyncgtun		Madmintune ...	4	Edric	Ernulf de Hesding
Deorham	10	Dirham	7	Aluric	Will. f. Wido de R.W.
		,, ...	3	... ...	Eccl. de Persore
Longanege	5	Langenei	5	Elsi	Elsi de R.W.
Lidanege	6	Lindenee	6	Eccl. de Persore	Rex. Comes Will. *accepit* de dominico victu monachorum de Persore vi. hidas

DEERHURST.

The chief interest of Deerhurst at this time lies in its connection with St. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, and martyr. Florence of Worcester, than whom there can be no better authority, states in recording his translation from the abbacy of Bath to the Bishopric of Winchester, that he had taken the monastic habit at Deerhurst. Æscwig, the predecessor of St. Alphege at Bath, was consecrated to the see of Dorchester in 978; but signatures of Ælfheah "Abbas" are found in documents accepted by Kemble as genuine at various dates between 970 and 984, when he became Bishop of Winchester. And so the question arises, over what monastery did St. Alphege preside between 970 and 978? And we obtain some help from the anecdote already recorded concerning the death of Foldbriht, abbot of Pershore.

He summoned to his death-bed Germanus, abbot of Winchcombe, who in his turn sent also for abbot Ælfheah, no doubt not only because he was very dear to him, but also because time pressed, and his monastery was nigh at hand.

On the testimony of Florence, St. Alphege certainly wore the monastic habit at Deerhurst; on the testimony of the documents, he certainly was abbot somewhere between 970 and 978. From the story of Foldbriht's decease we gather that the somewhere was not far distant from Pershore; and so we may conclude with very fair certainty, that when the Benedictine system was established in the Huiccian monasteries, St. Alphege was appointed to preside over Deerhurst as its first abbot. In this case he would have been abbot of Deerhurst 970 to 978, and of Bath from 978 till he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Winchester on October 19th, 984; he remained at Winchester till his translation to Canterbury on November 16th, 1005, and he held the primacy till his martyrdom at Greenwich on April 19th, 1012. There can be little doubt that the nave, choir, and lower part of the tower of the existing parish church of Deerhurst were either built by St. Alphege, or are much older than his time; and, at any

rate, that the martyr in his early days worshipped within those venerable walls. Of all the Huiccian churches in which the Benedictine revival found a home nine centuries ago, Deerhurst alone remains. Winchcombe has perished utterly; of Evesham, only a tower remains; Pershore and Westbury-on-Trym are merely parish churches of a far later time. And though the church of Bath now shares with its ancient Mother at Worcester the dignity of a Bishop's throne, not one stone stands upon another in either place of the church which St. Oswald founded, or of that in which St. Alphege prayed. At Deerhurst alone, of all the English monasteries, we may worship within walls which were probably the home of the elder monasticism, which certainly sheltered the earliest efforts of the Benedictine revival, and which have been hallowed by the service of God for at least nine centuries. Indeed, if we suppose, as it is quite reasonable to do, that the church at Deerhurst was built by Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, early in the ninth century, no other existing church in England, unless we except Jarrow, surpasses it in the interest of its early associations.

Deerhurst appears in Domesday as a monument of fallen grandeur. In one respect it had surpassed in dignity even the foundations of Osric, the Cathedral at Worcester, and the church of his burial at Gloucester. Alone among the churches of Gloucestershire it had been powerful enough to collect all its estates into a single hundred, and to call that hundred by its own name. The Hundred of Deerhurst included 123 hides of land; and we cannot doubt that that great estate, which was surpassed in the shire only by the possessions of the Cathedral, and of St. Peter's abbey at Gloucester, had formed the ancient endowment of the abbey at Deerhurst.

But the ancient church had fallen from its high estate. It is not mentioned in the Survey, and it had become a mere dependency of a foreign church. Its lands are divided in nearly equal portions between the abbeys of Westminster and St. Denys: and thus even in its fall its dignity did not

desert it; for surely it was no mean fate which gave its lands neither to Saxon thegn nor Norman knight, but to serve as endowments to the Coronation Church of the Sovereigns of England, and the Church of the Sepulchres of the Kings of France.

The date of the spoliation of Deerhurst is uncertain, for the Survey preserves a significant silence with regard to the ownership of its lands in the days of King Edward. It is certain that Westminster and St. Denys received the Deerhurst estates from the hands of the Confessor; but it is very probable that they had been alienated from ecclesiastical purposes long before that time. So far as I am aware, the name of only one abbot of Deerhurst is known, and he was Elphege—archbishop, saint, and martyr,—at whose hands Olaf Tryggeveson, King of Norway, knelt to receive the rite of confirmation; and who afterwards laid down his life at the hands of the Northmen, rather than allow his impoverished flock to be taxed for his ransom.

There is but little to relate with regard to the Gloucestershire churches which did not become Benedictine under Edgar. These were the two abbeys of St. Peter and St. Oswald at Gloucester, and the minsters at Berkeley and Cirencester. We cannot doubt that Oswald would have been glad enough to introduce the new system into these churches also, but that he was prevented from doing so by the influence of Elfhere.

St. Peter's abbey remained a canon's church until the reign of Cnut, who was himself a patron of the Benedictine system, and who, when he restored the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, placed Benedictine monks there. The history of the abbey of Gloucester tells us that[1] "Wolstanus clericos qui ecclesiam Sancti Petri antea rexerant, [et] custodierant, sub protectione Dei et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et regula beati Benedicti, in eadem ecclesia regulariter collocavit." This happened in 1022; and Wulstan seems to have dealt as

[1] Rolls Series, i. 8.

wisely as Oswald had done at Worcester half-a-century before: not driving out the canons, but permitting them to take upon themselves monastic vows. We may note that there was no change of dedication to that of the Blessed Virgin, as there had been in the Huiccian monasteries under Oswald; and the fact that the old dedication to S.S. Peter and Paul remained without alteration also at Bath, is so far an indication that that church became Benedictine under West Saxon rather than under Huiccian influence.

The first Benedictine abbot of Gloucester was named Eadric. He evidently found the estates of the abbey in disorder, and was compelled to sell the lands of Badgworth and Hatherley to pay off the arrears of Danegeld which still oppressed the church. He retained the abbacy for thirty-six years; but seems to have done very little to restore its fallen fortunes.

St. Oswald's abbey at Gloucester always remained a canon's church. In some way Archbishop Stigand had obtained possession of its estates, and they appear in Domesday under the name of Thomas Archbishop of York, who no doubt obtained them on the disgrace of Stigand. The history of the church during the eleventh century is very obscure.

We have seen[1] that there is reason for thinking that the minster at Cirencester was probably founded about the time of Egbert. In Domesday the only endowment attributed to it consisted of two hides of land and six acres of meadow; but it is quite possible that it had been plundered of part of its possessions. Like St. Oswald's, it remained a canon's church, being re-founded by Henry I.

So far as I am aware there is nothing to prove the existence of a monastery at Berkeley between 915, when its abbot, Ethelhun, became Bishop of Worcester, and the time of Earl Godwin, when it seems to have been finally suppressed. This last point seems to be clear, from the entry in Domesday relating to Woodchester: "Godwinus comes emit ab

[1] Vol. xvi., p. 221.

Azor et dedit suæ uxori ut inde viveret donec ad Berchelai maneret. Nolebat enim de ipso manerio aliquid comedere propter destructionem abbatiæ." The monastery at Berkeley, therefore, had been destroyed in the time of Earl Godwin, and he had a share in its destruction; but as his wife, Gytha, refused to profit by the sacrilege, Godwin bought Woodchester for her maintenance so long as he resided at Berkeley. As Earl Godwin died at Easter, 1053, the monastery must have ceased to exist before that time; and in the Survey, Berkeley appears as a royal estate with no trace of any house of nuns; though in the Pipe Roll of 31st Henry I. (1130-1) there is a charge—"in vestiturâ iii. monialium lxs," and Adeliza, queen of Henry I., gave to Reading abbey, among other church property at Berkeley, the prebends of two nuns. It would seem likely, however, that there were later foundations. There can be very little doubt that the ancient monastery at Berkeley was situated at Oldminster near Sharpness; the site is now for the most part occupied by railway sidings. The story that the monastery was suppressed on account of the misconduct of the nuns is told by Walter Map, who died early in the thirteenth century.

The church at Tewkesbury appears in Domesday as a well-endowed manorial church; and it is said to have been at that time a cell of Cranborne in Dorset. Probably it did not become Benedictine till the foundation of the abbey by Robert Fitzhamon in 1102.

We may conclude with a few words concerning the work of the founders of the Huiccian revival. Their greatness may be measured by the fact that they included two archbishops of Canterbury, Dunstan and Elphege; and one archbishop of York, Oswald. Dunstan was taken away from the evil to come almost before the invasions of the Northmen commenced, and Oswald passed away shortly after Maldon, before the full intensity of the misery which they would bring was manifest. Elphege ruled as primate during the period of most utter wretchedness that the incapacity of a king and the divisions of a people have ever brought on the English

nation. That he was a good man and loved his flock is evident from his refusal to allow them to be taxed for his ransom; that they loved him is evident from the touching words in which his martyrdom is recorded in the Chronicle. The last survivor of the little band of founders was Eadnoth, who was one of the very first to join Oswald at Westbury-on-Trym, and who was sent by him to superintend the erection of the monastic buildings at Ramsey which were completed in 974. He served as provost of the abbey at Ramsey; and in 1006 he became Bishop of the great Diocese of Dorchester, which extended from the Humber to the Thames. In 1012, with Ælfhun, Bishop of London, he received the body of St. Elphege at the hands of the Northmen, and laid it with all reverence in St. Paul's minster. And at last, in the autumn of 1016, he accompanied the host of Edmund Ironside, to pray we are told, and not to fight, at the last great struggle of the Danish wars at Assandun. And there meeting his death, he was laid to rest in the great minster at Ely, under the same roof-tree beneath which Brihtnoth, the hero of Maldon, had been buried a quarter of a century before.

Thus we have traced the beginnings of the Benedictine rule in England; and the story of the struggles and hopes and disappointments of the founders. We have seen the system emerge triumphant from the confusion of the Danish wars in possession of many of the Cathedrals, including the Mother Church at Canterbury, and of all the noblest abbeys. And it will be a matter of no small interest to us in Gloucestershire that the wisest of the reforming Bishops was St. Oswald of the Huiccians, and that the cradle of English Benedictinism was the Gloucestershire church of Westbury-upon-Trym.

A FAMILY CONNEXION OF THE CODRINGTON FAMILY IN THE XVIIth. CENTURY.

By the Rev. R. H. CODRINGTON, D.D.

In a window at the Castle House, Calne, there are fourteen shields of arms in stained glass of the same size and style, and evidently of the same date, forming a series, or part of a series, intended to represent a certain family connexion. These shields are certainly not in their original place; and they surround a shield showing the arms of the family of Houlton, which in style and size is altogether different. It is not known whence these shields of arms came, nor when they were introduced into the window in which they are now seen; but it may be conjectured that they were brought from the Manor House of Berwick Bassett, in which Edward Goddard, whose arms appear in one of them, is known to have lived. The families represented mostly belong to Gloucestershire, and an account of the glass has a natural place in the Transactions of a Gloucestershire Society.

The shields in the order in which they now stand are as follow:—

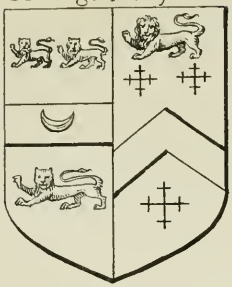
1. Arg. a fesse sable, between three lioncels gu., a crescent for difference; impaling gules, a chevron between three cross crosslets, in chief a lion passant, all arg.[1] Above the shield, "Codrington & Wyrrell."

2. As before, with annulet for difference; impaling, az. a bend or. Above, "Codrington & Scroope."

3. Arg. on a bend sa. two hands issuing from clouds, proper, holding a horseshoe arg., a crescent for difference; impaling, arg. three pairs of leaves sable.

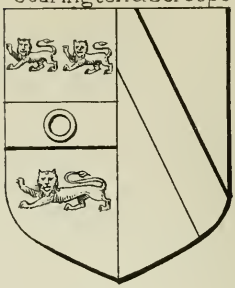
[1] By the error of the glass-painter, or by the failure of the colours, several of the coats are incorrect in details of no great importance. That of Speke, No. 6, should be Barry of 8 az. and arg. an eagle displayed gules. In shield No. 7. the arms of Hales, quartered by Stocker, are substituted by a mistake.

Codrington & Wyrrel.



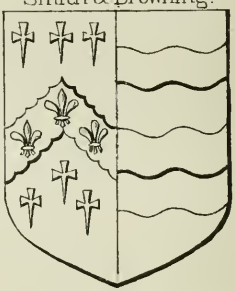
1

Codrington & Scroope



2

Smith & Browning.



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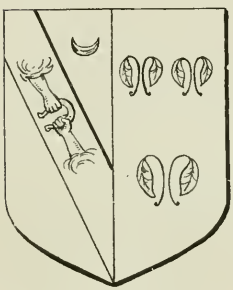
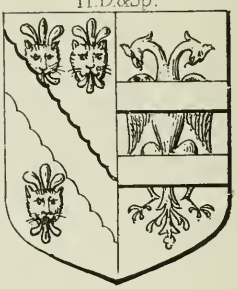


3

H.D.&Sp.



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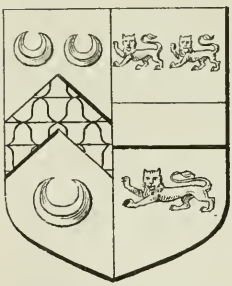
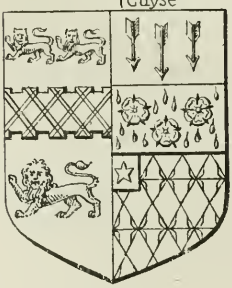


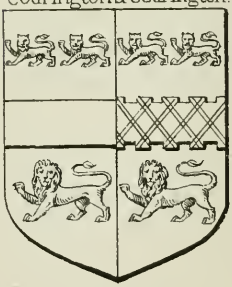
5

Codrington & { Stocker. Still. Cuyse



7

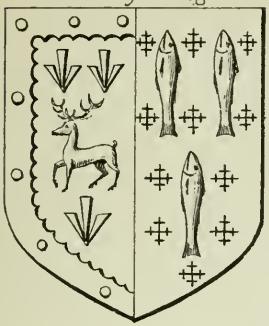
Codrington & Codrington.



8

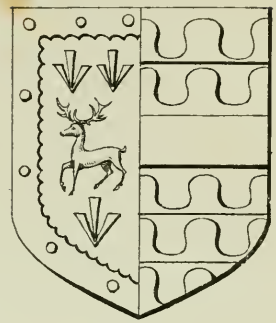
LAVARS & Co LITH BROAD ST BRISTOL

H.P.&Lucy de Higham.



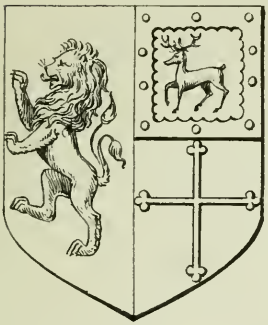
9

Jo.Parker&Marmion.



10

1605



1615.

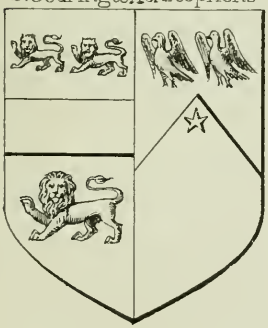
11

T.R&K.L

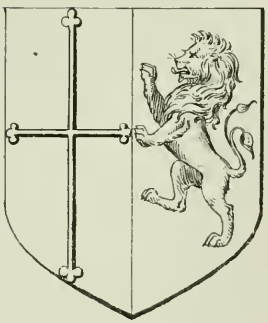
1651.

12

S.Codrington&Stephens



13



14

LAVARS & Co LITH. BROAD St BRISTOL

4. Sable, on a chevron engrailed between six crosses patee fitchée, or, three fleurs-de-lys az.; impaling, barry wavy of six, arg. and az. Above, "Smith & Browning."

5. Gules, a chevron vair between three crescents arg.; impaling, arg. a fesse sable between three lioncels gules.

6. Gules, three leopards' faces or, jessant de lys az., over all a bend engrailed of the 3rd; impaling, arg. an eagle displayed, sable, over all two bars az. Above, "H. D. & Sp."

7. Arg. a fesse embattled counter-embattled sable, fretty gules, between three lioncels of the 3rd; impaling (1) Three arrows, colours gone. (2) Sable, guttée d'eau, three roses arg. seeded or, leaved vert. (3) Lozengy gules and vair, on a canton or a mullet sable. Above, "Codrington & Stocker, Still, Guyse."

8. Arg. a fesse sable between three lioncels gu., impaling arg. a fesse embattled counter-embattled sable, fretty gules, between three lioncels of the 3rd.

9. Sable, a stag at gaze between three pheons, arg., a bordure engrailed or, charged with pellets sa.; impaling, gules, semée of cross crosslets or, three luces, hauriant, proper. Above, "H. P. & Lucy de Higham."

10. As above (9); impaling, vair a fesse gules. Above, "Io Parker & Marmion."

11. Sable, a lion rampant, double queued, arg. langued gu.; impaling, (1) As above, 9 and 10. (2) Quarterly gules and az. a cross flory or. Above, "1605"; below, "1615."

12. Party per pale arg. and gu., a lion rampant sa., langued gu.; impaling or. a saltire gules. Above, "T. R. & K. L."; below, "1651."

13. As above, 1, 2, 8; impaling, party per chevron az. and arg., in chief two falcons rising or, in chevron point a mullet sable. Above, "S. Codrington & Stephens."

14. Quarterly gu. and az. a cross flory or; impaling, sable, a lion rampant, double queued, arg. langued gu.

The matches represented by these shields are as follow :—

1. *Codrington and Wyrrell.* Richard Codrington, 2nd son of Richard Codrington, of Dodington, and Joyce Burlace, died in 1635 and is buried at Dyrham; he married, 1630, Joanna, daughter of Wm. Wyrall, of English Bicknor. *Transactions of the Bristol and Glouc. Soc.*, vol i., p. 69; where, however, the name is given Coddington without Christian name.

2. *Codrington and Scrope.* The Rev. Thomas Codrington, of Keynsham, 5th son of Richard Codrington and Joyce Burlace, married Anne, born 1616, daughter of John Scrope of Castle Combe. Scrope's *History of Castle Combe.*

3. *Borlase and Baldwin.* Richard Codrington, of Dodington, ob. 1613, father of the above Richard and Thomas, and of Samuel and Anne below, married Joyce, daughter of John Burlace, or Burlacey, of Little Marlow, Bucks, who died 1593, by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir Wm. (or Rt.?) Litton, of Knebworth. John Burlace was son of Edward Burlace and Parnell, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Baldwin, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, ob. 1564. The will of Joyce (there named Jocosa) Codrington is dated 25th August, 1634. She was buried at Dyrham, March 23rd, 1635. In her will she mentions her daughter Isabel Stokes and the wives of Samuel and Richard Codrington (shields 1 and 8), and her brother, Sir William Borlase.

4. *Smith and Browning.* John Smith, author of *Lives of the Berkeleys*, married Mary, daughter of John Browning, of Cowley. Preface to *Smith's Lives*, by Sir J. Maclean.

5. *Goddard and Codrington.* Edward Goddard, of Berwick Bassett, eldest son of John Goddard, of Cliffe Pipard, co. Wilts, living 1623, married, 1614, Anne, daughter of Richard Codrington, of Dodington. *Wilts Visitation*, *Dodington Register.*

6. *Dennys and Speke.* Henry Dennys, of Pucklechurch, ob. 1638; he married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Speke of Whitelackington, co. Somerset, as stated on his monu-

ment at Pucklechurch. The Speke arms are incorrectly represented.

7. *Codrington of Codrington, and Stocker, Still, Guise.* John Codrington, of Codrington and Didmarton, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1638; born 1600, died 1670; married, first, as the Inquisition after the death of his grandfather Simon, 1631, shews, Katherine Capel, who died 1630. Printed and MS. pedigrees make him to have married—Stocker, whose name appears on this glass. He married again in 1632, Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of Nathaniel Still, of Hulton, co. Somerset, son of John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells. She died in 1642, and lies in the Codrington Chapel in Wapley Church. See *Hutchins' Dorset* for pedigree of Still. John Codrington's last wife was Frances, daughter of William Guise, of Elmore, and Cecilia Dennys, as shown in Sir J. Maclean's *Pedigree of the Guise Family, in Transactions of the Bristol and Glouc. Soc.*

8. *Codrington of Dodington, and Codrington of Codrington.*[1] Samuel Codrington, eldest son of Richard Codrington, of Dodington and Joyce Burlace, married, 1650, at Dodington, for his first wife, Jane daughter of John Codrington, above, and Anne Still, with whom he had her mother's estate of Hulton. *Dodington Register. Hutchins. Visitations.* He died 1675.

[1] In the 17th century, during the period in which these family alliances took place, the two main branches of the Codrington family were seated respectively at Codrington (and Didmarton) and at Dodington. These branches proceeded from John and Thomas Codrington, sons of Robert. John, of Codrington, as his tomb in Wapley Church testifies, was born in 1364, and died at the age of 111 years in 1475. His descendants, the elder branch, remained at Codrington till the death of Colonel John Codrington in 1754. The younger branch descended from Thomas Codrington (who, according to the Pedigrees, married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, and died 1427) were settled for some generations at Frampton-on-Severn, on a property inherited from the Cliffords. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, Giles Codrington bought Dodington, where his descendants remained till Samuel Codrington sold it early in the last century. The elder branch is now represented by William Wyndham Codrington, of Wroughton, Wilts, the descendant of John Codrington and Frances Guise (No. 7); the younger branch by General Robert Codrington, of Bath, descended from Richard Codrington and Joan Wyrall (No. 1). The two ancient properties of Codrington and Dodington are

9. *Parker and Lucy.* Parker, of Barnewood, descended from the brother of the last Abbot, Malvern *alias* Parker, of Gloucester, whose arms these are. The impalement is Lucy of Charlecote; but the match has not been made out.

10. *Parker and Marmion.* An inquest held at Oxford in 1550 shews that Antony Marmyon died at Estington, co. Glouc., in 1549, and that his daughter Isabella was wife of John Parker, who held property at North Stoke, Oxon.

11. *Stokes and Parker and Snell.* Christopher Stokes, of Stanshaw, co. Wilts, married, 1st, Alice, daughter of John Parker, of Barnewood, ob. 1615. (*Visitation of Glouc*, 1682.) 2ndly, Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Snell. She died before 1651. Jackson and Aubrey's *Wilts*, p. 133.

12. *Roberts and Langley.* Thomas Roberts, of Westerleigh, co. Glouc., married Catherine, daughter of Philip Langley, of Mangotsfield, High Sheriff 1619. *Visitation of Glouc.*, 1682.[1]

13. *Codrington and Stephens.* Samuel Codrington (8) married, 2ndly, Elizabeth (in *Visitation of Glouc.*, 1682, Anne), daughter of Thomas Stephens, of Lypiatt.

14. *Snell and Stokes.* Charles Snell, of Box and Aldersholt; born 1618, died 1671; married Anne, daughter of Christopher Stokes and Barbara Snell (11).

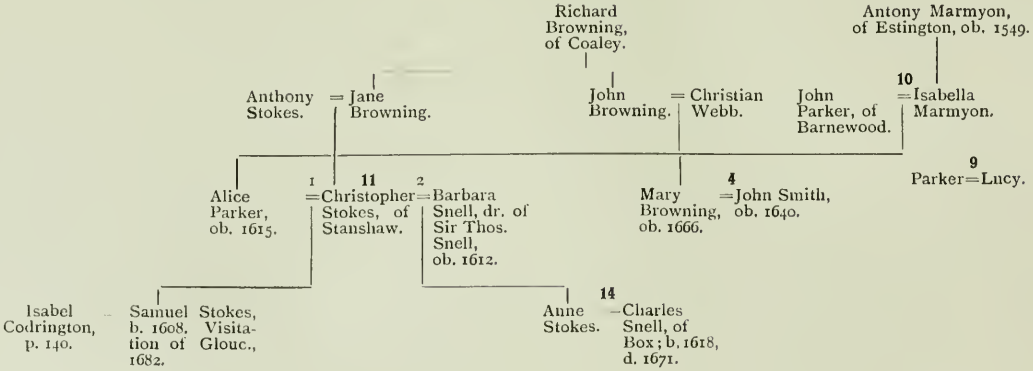
now united in the possession of Sir Gerald Codrington, Bart., the descendant of Christopher Codrington, brother of John Codrington, of Codrington (No. 7).

The difference in the arms of the two branches of the family, shown in the shield No. 8, proceeds from a confirmation by Clarencieux, King of Arms, dated 1441, some years after the death of Thomas Codrington, in which he testifies that John Codrington, "bearing in his Armes of Silver a veece of Sable, batale counter batale, frett with Gowles, between three Lyons Passants of the same—hath been armed in the present armes in the service of our Sovereigne Lorde King Henry the fifte in Battaile watch and warde under the said our Lords Baner." While, therefore, the elder branch have borne and bear the fesse thus differenced, the younger branch have properly borne and bear it plain.

[1] A connexion which may possibly have brought the shield No. 12 into this series may be found in the marriage (Oct. 27, 1653, at West Down, Devon), of Robert Isaac, gent., and Anne, daughter of John Codrington, of Codrington, sister of Jane, wife of Samuel Codrington (No. 8); the arms of Isaac being fonnd impaled with those of Thomas Roberts, ob. 1673, æt. 49, on a monument in Westerleigh Church.

The connexion of the families represented by this series of coats, which there is no reason to suppose complete, can, with one exception (that of Roberts and Langley), be shown by a Pedigree, the foundation of which is that of the family of Richard Codrington, of Dodington, and Joyce Burlace, his wife. The lives of the persons represented range over four generations; from in one case, that of Burlace and Baldwin, the great-grandparents of those in whose time the shields were executed. The date of the glass may be supposed to be about 1660. The connexion of the families as here made out has been traced by Thomas Codrington, descendant of John Codrington and Francis Guise, No. 7, and some particulars have been added by the kindness of Sir John Maclean.

John Dennys, of Pucklechurch.
Wm. Guise, of Elmore.
Cecilia Dennys.
Henry Dennys, of Pucklechurch.
6
Margaret, dr. of Sir Geo. Speke, of Whitelackington.
Frances, dr. of Wm. Guise, of Elmore, ob. 1676
John Codrington, of Codrington.
7
Stocker
Anne, dr. of Nathl. Still of Hulton, co. Dorset.
Edwd. Burlace
3
Parnell, dr. of Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, 1546—1553.
John Burlace, of LittleMarlow, ob. 1593.
Anne, dr. of Sir W. Litton, o Knebworth.
Thos. Codrington, of Dodington
Joyce Burlace.
Thomas Codrington, Rector of Keynsham.
2
Anne, dr. of JohnScrope, of Castle Combe.
Richard Codrington, of Dyrham, ob. 1635.
1
Joanna, dr. of Wm. Wyrall, of English Bicknor.
Jane 1
Codrington.
8
Samuel, of Dodington, ob. 1675.
13
2 Elizabeth, dr. of Thos. Stephens, of Lypiatt.
Anne Codrington.
Edward Goddard, of Berwick Bassett, living 1623.
Isabel Codrington, ob. 1675.
Samuel Stokes, P. 141.


Richard Browning, of Coaley.
Antony Marmyon, of Estington, ob. 1549.
Anthony Stokes.
= Jane Browning.
John Browning.
= Christian Webb.
John Parker, of Barnewood.
10
=Isabella Marmyon.
Alice Parker, ob. 1615.
1
=Christopher Stokes, of Stanshaw.
11
2
=Barbara Snell, dr. of Sir Thos. Snell, ob. 1612.
Mary Browning, ob. 1666.
4
=John Smith, ob. 1640.
9
Parker=Lucy.
Isabel Codrington, p. 140.
Samuel Stokes, b. 1608. Visitation of Glouc., 1682.
Anne Stokes.
14
=Charles Snell, of Box; b. 1618, d. 1671.

NOTES ON THE BOROUGH AND MANOR OF NEWNHAM.

By RUSSELL JAMES KERR,

Chairman of Quarter Sessions, President of the Society.

We are told that it was here, at Newnham, that Henry II. met Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, upon the return of the latter from his conquest of Ireland. (A.D. 1172.)

It would be interesting to see an account, if any exists, of this meeting, which would no doubt be celebrated with all pomp and ceremonial befitting the occasion.

The Records of the Corporation of Gloucester, the calendar of which has been lately compiled by Mr. Stevenson, contain many references to the parish and town of Newnham, and in them we find names of fields, places, &c., &c., with which we are still familiar.

Thus we have "Frerencroft" (*i.e.* Friars' Croft), "Hyde," "Long Lond" (Long Meadow), "Sladaker" (Sladacre), "Portfield," "Whetstonebroke," and others, all easily identified.

The Prior and Brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (Gloucester) appear to have had much interest in lands at Newnham, for we constantly find them mentioned as Grantors, or Grantees, of various hereditaments in the parish.

Thus, No. 202, circiter A.D. 1220, we find "A Grant from Hugh Charke to the Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, of 12d. of Rent of the land of Forstalle that Walter Hoch, Nicholas Iue, and Adam the Palmer, held."

Referring again to the Calendar of the Records, we find many other grants made by, and to, Hugh Charke.

His life, however, does not seem to have been altogether a peaceful one, for in the "Pleas of the Crown" taken at Gloucester before the Abbot of Reading and his fellow Justices, A.D. 1221, we find him, in the Pleas of the Hundred of Bledsloe, appearing as the bail of one Martin who is said

to have "appealed" one Adam, brother of Walter, who had killed William and had been outlawed. Martin denies that he ever "appealed" Adam, but the Coroners' Rolls show that he did, and the order is that he (Martin) and his backer (Hugh) be kept in custody. There, however, the County Court contradicts the Coroners, and says that Martin never "appealed" Adam, and so Martin and Hugh go quit.

And further on, in the Pleas of the same Hundred, we find:—"Hugo Clark appellat Walterum Balle, Gilbertum Hathewi, Paganum filium sacerdotis, quod nequiter, &c., &c. verberaverunt eum et fregerunt dentes suos, et hoc offert ut homo mahemiatus."

"Sed quia alii non fuerunt attachiati datus est ei ad sequendum appellum suum versus eos die Jovis proxima post festum S. Margaretæ apud Herefordium."

We have no knowledge, however, what the result of the proceedings at Hereford may have been.

In the Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey we find many notices of grants made by Hugo Charke, "cum assensu et bonâ voluntate Hugonis, filii et heredis mei et Johannæ uxoris mei," of grants of land, &c., &c., for pious purposes to God and the blessed Mary, and to the Monks, &c., &c., &c. (*See* Confirmation Charter of Henry III. to Flaxley Abbey, A.D. 1227.)

In the "Feet of Fines" Gloucester, 25 Henry III., we find:—"This is the final Agreement made in the Court of the Lord the King, at Bristol, on the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the 25th year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John" (1241) "Before Robert de Lexington, Ralph de Sulley, William de Culewurth, Johan de Nevill, and Robert de Haya, Justices in Eyre, &c., &c., Between Adam, Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomews, of Gloucester, Plaintiff, and Hugh Cherke of Newenham, Deforciant, of Ten acres of land, One mill, One garden, and 19d. of Rent, with the appurtenances in Newenham, concerning which a Plea of Warranty of Charter was summoned between them in the same Court.

"That is to say that the aforesaid Hugh hath acknowledged all the aforesaid land, &c., &c., to be the right of

the said Prior, &c. To have and to hold to the same Prior and his successors, and to the Brethren of the same Hospital, of the aforesaid Hugh and his heirs for ever, Rendering therefor 6d. by the year at the Feast of St. Michael, and doing to the Chief Lords of that Fee all other services which to the aforesaid land, &c., &c., pertain, &c., &c.

"And for this acknowledgment, Warrant, fine, and agreement, the same Prior gave to the aforesaid Hugh one mark of silver."

Hugh Charke, however, lived many years after this, and must have been a man of considerable substance. If he did not own the whole parish, he certainly had land in every part of it, extending from Portfield in the south, to Hyde in the north, and having Staura (Stears), possibly for his residence, in the centre.

In Record No. 529, circiter 1260, we find:—"A grant from Hugh[1] Charc to the Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, and Brethren of the same, for the health of his soul and of the soul of Isabella his wife, and for the souls of his father and mother, and of Henry his son, and of Isabella his daughter, &c., &c., of all the land that Walter of the Boxe, son of James of the Boxe, held of him in the Portfelda without Neuham, and 12 selions of land in the Hydecroft, and a rent of 6d. from the land called Charcfield which the said Walter held of him."

Witnesses,

ALEXANDER OF STAURA (Stears).
HELIAS OF HEYDON (Haieden Green).
HENRY THE CLERK, of Redleg (? Ruddle).
WILLIAM LEUUERICH (Loverich).
JOHN LUMBARD.
WILLIAM OF THE HULLE.
ADAM YUE (? IVO) } *Bailiffs of Neuham.*
ROBERT THE BLUND }
NICHOLAS, *Chaplain of St. Nicholas, Gloucester.*

[1] This must have been the son of Hugo before mentioned, whose wife's name was Johanna.

In the 45th year of Henry III. (*i.e.* 1260) "An Inquisition Post Mortem was made by command of the Lord the King in the full County Court of Gloucester, before the Sheriff, and before the Keepers of the Pleas of the Crown of the Lord the King, by the Oath of Walter de Hunteleye, William de la Hyde, Henry de Munemwe (Monmouth), &c., &c., Whether Thomas Foliot, formerly Rector of the Church of Westbury, held for the whole of his life the Chapels of Newham and Munstrewurth with his aforesaid church, as pertaining to the same church, until the day on which he died, or not ?

"Who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Thomas held the aforesaid Chapels of Neuham and Munstreworth for the whole time of his life as pertaining to his Church of Westbury."

In the "Coram Rege" Roll, Mich: 3rd Edward II. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1309), Roll 107 :—

"Pleas before the Lord the King at Westminster, of the Term of St. Michael, in the 3rd year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, As yet of the Octave of St. Martin [18 Nov., 1309].

"Gloucester—Nicholas de Bathon: was summoned to answer to the Lord the King of a Plea, that he permit the said King to present a fit parson to the Church of Newenham, which is vacant, and to the King pertains the gift.

"And wherefore Robert de Kelkefeld, who sues for the Lord the King, says that the aforesaid Nicholas unjustly hinders the said King, &c. For he says that the Lord King Henry [III.] the grandfather of the Lord the King that now is, in the time of Peace, &c., &c., presented to the aforesaid Church of Newenham a certain Thomas Folyot his clerk, who was admitted and instituted in the same at his presentation.

"And afterwards the same Lord King Henry presented to the same church a certain William de Shopesworth his clerk, who was admitted, &c., &c.

"And afterwards the same Lord King Henry, in the time

of peace, presented to the same church a certain Walter of Chelecumbe, who was admitted, &c., &c.

"By whose death that church is now vacant, and so it pertains to the said King to present to that church, &c., &c.

"Wherefore he says that by this, that the same Nicholas hinders the said King to present, the said King is deteriorated and has damage to the value of 2000 li.

"And this he offers to verify for the Lord the King, &c., &c.

Another Plea of the same nature concerning the Church of Menstrewortha :—

"And the aforesaid Nicholas comes and defends the force and injury when, &c.;

"And to both writs he says that he does not hinder the Lord the King unjustly.

"For he says that he is patron of the Church of Westbury, to which the Chapels of Newenham and Menstreworth (to which the Lord the King now claims to present as to the Mother Churches) are pertaining and annexed.

"And he says that he, in the time of the aforesaid King Henry [III.], the grandfather, &c., &c., presented to the same Church of Westbury a certain Richard Talbot his clerk, who at his presentation was admitted and instituted, and for his whole time held the aforesaid chapels as annexed to the church aforesaid, &c., &c.

"And afterwards the same Nicholas, in the time of the same King Henry, presented to the same Church of Westbury, another his clerk, Edmund de Bath, who at his presentation was admitted to the same Church, and instituted, &c., and he likewise held for his whole time the aforesaid chapels annexed to the Church aforesaid.

"And after whose death the same Nicholas, in the time of King Edward, the father of the King that now is, presented to the same church a certain William de Kyngescote his clerk, who at his presentation was admitted to the same Church of Westbury and instituted, &c., and who now holds it with the chapels aforesaid, as is aforesaid to the same church pertaining and annexed.

"And this he is prepared to verify, &c.

"And he prays judgment, &c., &c.

"And the aforesaid Robert and Alan for the Lord the King say, That the aforesaid King Henry presented to the aforesaid Churches of Newenham and Menstrewurth as to Mother Churches and with cure of souls, his clerks aforesaid, &c.

"And they say that King John, the father of the said King Henry, and all the progenitors of the King before, from a time beyond memory, presented always to the churches aforesaid as to Mother Churches, and with cure of souls, &c., &c.

"Afterwards on the Octave of Holy Trinity, in the fourth year of the reign of the King that now is, &c. [A.D. 1310], The jurors say upon their Oath that the Lord King Henry, the grandfather of the Lord the King that now is, in his time and in the time of Peace, presented to the aforesaid Churches of Newenham and Menstrewurth as to Mother Churches, &c., &c.

"And they precisely say that then the Churches of Newenham and Menstreworth were Mother Churches, with cure of souls, before the time of the aforesaid King Henry, and for the whole time of King Henry, and as yet are.

"And they say that afterwards the aforesaid Nicholas de Bath, patron of the Church of Westbury, occupied and drew to himself and his Church of Westbury aforesaid, the aforesaid Churches of Newenham and Menstrewurth, by presenting for three turns his aforesaid three clerks, to the aforesaid Church of Westbury, but how or by what reason, they say that they are ignorant, &c., &c.

"Judgment :—

"It is considered that the Lord the King should recover his presentation to the churches aforesaid, &c., and the same Nicholas is in mercy, &c., &c., &c."

The effect of the above judgment was of course to establish the right of the Crown to the patronage of the Church of Newnham.

Nicholas de Bath, however, was not yet done with

"malecreditur" (*i.e.*, He is suspected) of hindering the judgment, given in favour of the King, by force, for we find that in the 5th Edward II. a writ of "Inquisition ad quod damnum" was issued, as below:—

"Inquisition taken at Munstreworth and Newenham before John de Actone, Sheriff of Gloucester, on the 21st day of August, in the 5th year of the reign of King Edward II. [A.D. 1311], to inquire if Nicholas de Bath maliciously plots to hinder the execution of a judgment rendered in the Court of the Lord the King touching the advowsons of the Churches of Munstreworth and Newenham, and of the mandates of the said King, having assembled to himself an immense multitude as well of Englishmen as Welshmen, malefactors, and disturbers of the Peace of the Lord the King, holds himself with armed force in the aforesaid vills and the parts adjacent, to the disinheritance, and manifest contempt of the Lord the King, as in the writ of the Lord the King is set forth.

"By the Oath of Simon de Fromelode, John de Wyke of Eluetone, Roger de Boyfeld of Munstreworth, Roger de Munstreworth, Gilbert le Bakere, Elias atte Strode, William le White of Newenham, John de Sulley of the same, Joseph atte Welle of the same, Walter de Combe, Adam Ernald, and Henry le Youge.

"Who say upon their Oath that the said Nicholas does not hold himself in the aforesaid vills or the parts adjacent with a multitude of Englishmen and Welshmen, malefactors and disturbers of the Peace of the Lord the King, to hinder the execution of the judgment and mandates of the Lord the King, as in the writ is set forth.

"They also say that there are not any in this part existing, nor in any manner hindering the execution of the judgment rendered in the Court of the Lord the King touching the advowsons of the Churches aforesaid, or of the mandate of the Lord the King for the execution aforesaid.

"In testimony whereof the aforesaid Jurors have set their seals to this Inquisition."

This right of presentation must have been granted either by Edward II. or Edward III. to the de Bohun family, for we find in the Gloucester Records, No. 45 :—

1343. July 25th (*i.e.*, 16 Edward III). "License to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, to assign the advowson of the Church of Newenham to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew."

And by Record 914, we find that Earl William availed himself of that License and made the Grant to the Prior and Brethren on the same day.

Whether the Prior and Brethren were not satisfied with their title to the advowson we cannot say, but we find by Record 925 that "On Nov. 14, 1344, Alice, daughter and heir of Nicholas of Bath, released to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Her right in the right of the Patronage of the Parish Church of Newnham, in the Diocese of Hereford."

Sir Robert Atkyns tells us that the church did formerly stand at Nabs End, but, being undermined by water, was taken down, and built in the present place. The churchyard is now bounded by the Severn. The piece of ground where the present church stands was given to the Mayor and Burgesses of Newnham by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, paying 4d. yearly to the See of Rome to pray for his soul.

Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Joan his wife were seized of the manor 46 Edward III., A.D. 1373.

Supposing the gift of the piece of ground, as mentioned above, to have taken place about this period, we perhaps shall not be far wrong in fixing the date of the removal of the church from the Nabs End to its present site as being about the year 1380.

It may not be out of place here to add that the church, which was originally built, as we suppose, in 1380, was pulled down (with the exception of the porch and the lower part of the tower) and rebuilt by the parishioners in the years 1874-75, at a cost of upwards of £4,000, and re-opened

for Divine Service by the Lord Bishop of the diocese, October 4, 1875.

The fabric however, so rebuilt, did not last long, for on the morning of Monday, 28th February, 1881, it was totally destroyed by fire, with the exception of the porch, the tower, and the vestry.

Fortunately, the building was assured against such a calamity, and with the addition of a few hundred pounds to the money received from the Insurance Office, it was rebuilt as it now stands, and re-opened for Divine Service on Wednesday, December 16th, 1881.

Of the church, Atkyns, writing in 1711, says: "It is an Impropriation worth £40 yearly, belonging to the City of Gloucester. The City lets it to the curate at £8 a year, for his encouragement."

The city of Gloucester, or rather the Corporation of the city of Gloucester, were the successors in title to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, and we have seen how they became possessed of the advowson.

The city, however, at some time during the last century, or in the early part of the present one, parted with their patronage, which passed through several private hands until a few years ago, when it was made over to the Bishop of the diocese, with whom it now remains, and who presented the Rev. W. Gordon Baillie, the present vicar, to the living in the year 1890.

In the Close Rolls, 22 Henry III., A.D. 1238, No. 17, we find an entry of which the following is a translation:

"*De Quercu data.*—It is commanded to the Constable of St. Briavell that he cause the woman keeping the Passage of Nywenham to have one Oak in the forest of St. Briavell, to make a certain boat thereof, of the gift of the King.

"Witness the King as above (at Tewkesbury, the 28th day of March, 1237–38)."

In the 6th Edward I. [1278] an Inquisition Post Mortem was held on the death of Alexander Bleyght, forester in fee of the Forest of Dean, who died in the preceding reign.

"John Bleyght is declared to be the son and heir of the deceased, who held a Bailiwick in the Forest of Dene, called 'Bleytyesbayllye,' from the time of the Conquest to the day of his death."—*Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey*, p. 41.

In the Chancery Rolls we find an Inquisition Post Mortem 21 Edward I., No. 59:

"Inquisition taken on Monday next before the Feast of St. George the Martyr in the 21st year of the reign of King Edward [20th April, A.D. 1293], in the full County [Court], before the Sheriff of Gloucester and the Keepers of the Pleas of the Crown of the same County, by the Oath of 12 Jurors; viz., Roger de Monstrewurthe, Nicholas de la Hulle, Peter de Coumede, John de la Hulle of Bolleye, Adam le Long, Elias ate Strode, John de la Home, of Neweham, Roger Long, William le Lung, John son of Eva, and Walter le Mareschal, of Neweham,

"Whether one messuage with the appurtenances in Newenham which Walter le Mareschal, [who] for a felony which he committed was hanged as it is said, held, were in our hand for a year and a day or not?

"And who now holds it?

"And who had our year and a day therein?

"Who say by their Oath:

"That the Lord the King had the aforesaid messuage and the appurtenances for a year and a day before the receipt of this writ, and that the said Walter held that messuage in chief of the Prior of Llanthony, by Gloucester. And the commonalty of the vill of Newenham held it, and now hold it, by the bail of the Keeper of the Crown, and it ought to answer for year and day."

What the felony was of which Walter le Mareschal was convicted we do not know, but the effect of his conviction was that the Manor of Newnham, of which he was seized, reverted to the Crown.

In the Chancery Rolls we find another Inquisition Post Mortem, 34 Edward I., No. 25:

Gloucester: "Inquisition taken before the Escheator of

the Lord the King at Gloucester on the 17th day of October, in the 34th year of the reign of King Edward [A.D. 1306], touching the lands and tenements of which William Bleith was seized in his demesne as of fee, in the County aforesaid, on the day on which he died, and how much he held of the Lord the King in chief? and how much of others?

"And by what service?

"And how much those lands are worth by the year in all issues?

"And who his next of kin may be, and of what age?

"By the Oath of Nicholas atte Hulle, Robert de Aqua, Ralph de Rodleye, the younger, Walter Heved, Henry Waterbroke, Richard de la Felde, Walter Marchal, William Leulyn, and William de Staure,

"Who say upon their Oath, That the same William held of the Lord the King in chief, in his demesne as of fee on the day on which he died, certain tenements in the vill of Neuwenham by the serjeanty of being one of the Foresters of the Lord the King in the Forest of Dene, and rendering to the Lord the King 5$^{s.}$ by the year at the Feast of St. Michael at his Castle of St. Briavell for all services.

"And there is one capital messuage which is worth 6$^{s.}$ by the year, and 60 acres of land which is worth 10$^{s.}$ by the year, the price of an acre 2$^{d.}$ And there are 10 cottars, who hold 10 cottages and render 14$^{s.}$ 1$^{d.}$ by the year at the two terms by even portions, etc. And the custody of the bailiwick aforesaid is worth nothing by the year.

Sum 30$^{s.}$ 1$^{d.}$

And they say that John, son of William Bleith, is his next heir, and he was of the age of 16 years at the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord last past."

It may be observed here that Atkyns, writing in 1712, Rudder, 1779, and Fosbrooke, 1807, speak of the possessions of William Bleith being six acres, and Fosbrooke mentions his name as "Bliss (Blythe)."

But we have here the copy of the Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem, giving the land as being in extent sixty acres,

and as being worth 10s. by the year, calculated at "the price of an acre, 2d."

"The Culver House," or "Blythe Court," is still a tenement in the parish, although no part of the present building can lay claim to so great antiquity as the early part of the fourteenth century. Yet there are still some ancient trees arouud it, which may have sheltered William Bleith, the king's forester, and lying as it does immediately under the Blaze (? Bleith or Bliss) Bailey, it would be a most convenient spot for him to go to his daily work to "Regard" the forest, and to take notice of any depredations committed therein.

In the *Perambulation of the Forest of Dene*, 10th Edward I. (1282), we find:—"Balliva de Bleyth" (*i.e.* Blaize Bailey), &c., &c., &c. "Incipit apud la Cocksutgrene" (Cockshoot-green) "et inde per viam Regiam usque ad Crucem ante portam curiæ, Willielmi Blyth," &c., &c., &c.

We have no authentic record, beyond such extracts as the above, showing us the value of land in the parish at this period; but in the *Exchequer Lay Subidies, Gloucester* $\frac{113}{4}$, 6th Edward II. (1313) we find the following:

"Taxsacio—XVme. de Munstreworth, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi [II.] Sexto.

"VILLAT DE NEUHAM.

Walterus filius Dyonisie habet in bonis ...	xxxvs.
Wills. Peyt habet in bonis	xs.
Willielmus de Gloucestre habet in bonis ...	xvs.
Radulphus Demewode habet in bonis ...	xxvijs.
Willielmus atte Walle habet in bonis ...	vijs.
Masy Le Singgare habet in bonis	xjs. vid.
Walterus Le Marechal habet in bonis ...	vs.
Johannes Culward habet in bonis	vjs. viid.
Willielmus Aldyt habet in bonis...	vs.
Agnes Peyt habet in bonis	vs.
Mauricus de Wyke habet	iijs.
Gilbertus de Chapstone habet in bonis ...	xvs.
Agneta de la Home habet in bonis	xxs.

VILLAT DE NEUHAM.

Willielmus de Audeleye habet in bonis ...	ii$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$
Isabella Longa habet in bonis	xx$^{s.}$
Alicia de la Boxe habet in bonis...	xv$^{s.}$
Johannes de Lyndemor habet in [bonis] ...	xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Agneta Le Boys habet in bonis	x$^{s.}$
Johannes Leulyn habet in bonis...	xxv$^{s.}$
Josep Peyt habet in bonis	vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Johannes Le Gade habet in bonis	v$^{s.}$
Johannes de la Walle habet in bonis... ...	xxv$^{s.}$

REDDITUS.

Abbas de Glovernia habet	iij$^{s.}$
Abbas de Wynchecumbe habet	xviij$^{d.}$
Abbas Flexleye habet	vi$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$
Prior de Launtoney	x$^{s.}$
Prior de La Goldcleve	xviij$^{d.}$
Raduphus Barun	x$^{s.}$
Ricardus de Heydun	iiij$^{s.}$
Willielmus de Dene	iiij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$
Josep de la Walle	xviij$^{d.}$
Johs. Balloc	ij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$

Taxatores de Newenham videlicet:

Johannes de Selly, Johannes Le Longe,	Dant de fine sua pro taxacione predicta per equalem porcionem ...	vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ "

Edward III. having come to the Throne in the year 1327, fresh subsidies were required, and therefore we find in the *Exchequer Lay Subsidies, Gloucester* $\frac{113}{5}$:—

" Taxacio vicesime Burgorum et antiquorum dominicorum domini Regis in comitatu Glouc. facta per Willielmum Tracy et Robertum de Aston anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum primo.

NEWENHAM.

De Johanne de Sully	ij$^{s.}$
De Johanne de Deyare	ij$^{s.}$
De Andrea Le White	vj$^{d.}$
De Ricardo de Rodleye...	xij$^{d.}$
De Johanne de Northlonge	ij$^{s.}$
De Roberto le Smith	vj$^{d.}$
De Ricardo de Munstreworth	ij$^{s.}$
De Agnete la Longe	vj$^{d.}$
De Johanne atte Home	xij$^{d.}$
De Willielmo Peit	vj$^{d.}$
De Andrea Peit	xij$^{d.}$
De Willielmo de Gloucestre	vj$^{d.}$
De Johanne Overlonge	xij$^{d.}$
De Radulpho de Mewode	xviij$^{d.}$
De Johanne Culuare	vj$^{d.}$
De Willielmo atte Walle	ix$^{d.}$
De Adam Peit	vj$^{d.}$
De Willielmo de Hokkelye	ij$^{s.}$
De Josepho Peit	vj$^{d.}$
Summa ... xx iij$^{d.}$"	

By an Inquisition Post Mortem, 32nd Edward III., A.D. 1358, we find that the Jurors say upon their Oath:—"That it is not to the harm or prejudice of the Lord the King nor of others if the Lord the King grant to Geoffrey le Marchal, Chaplain, and John Arham . . . leave to give and assign certain specified heriditaments in Blechesdone, Elveton, Newenham, and Erlyngham, and a moiety of the Advowson of the Church at Blechesdone to the Abbot and Convent of Flaxle, to have and to hold, &c., in part satisfaction of 20 librates of Land which the Lord the King lately granted to the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, &c., &c., Except certain lands, &c., &c., which they" (? the Abbot and Convent)

"hold in chief of the King in the Co^y. of Glos'ter. And they say that the said heriditāments, &c., &c., are held of the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Hereford."

In a Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem, 46th Edward III. (A.D. 1372–73), after the death of Humphrey de Bohun, late Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, it is found:— "That he held of the King in chief, by the service of being Constable of the Lord the King of England, the manor of Newenham, which is worth 40^s. by the year in all issues."

The Duchy of Lancaster has always been the possessor of Lands, Rights, and Privileges in this and other parts of the County, and to this day the tenants of the Duchy claim freedom from toll, paid by others, at the fairs held in the Parish of Newnham on the 11th June and 18th October.

In the *Duchy of Lancaster's Ministers' Accounts*, Bundle 594, No. 9,514, we find:

"Newenham.—Account of Thomas Staure the Bailiff there, 7 and 8 Henry V. [A.D. 1420–1421].

"Arrears.—None.

"Rents of Assize.—The same answers for 8^s. of the Rent of Assize there for the term of St. Michael. And for 12^s. for a certain Rent called Stallegavel there by the year, to be paid at the same term.

Sum 20^s.

"Toll of the Vill.—And for 6^s. 6^d. for the toll and stallepruys there this year, nevertheless in the year preceding at 13^s. 4^d.

Sum 6^s. 6^d.

"Perquisites of the Courts.—And for 21^s. 11^d. for the perquisites of the Courts held there this year, as appears in the Rolls of the same,

"Nevertheless in years preceeding [they amounted] to 37^s. 1^d.

Sum 21^s. 11^d.

Sum received 48^s. 5^d.

Which he paid to John ap Gillim the Receiver of the Lord the King there.

And so he receded."

In the year 1521, the Duke of Buckingham, having been found Guilty, by a Jury of his Peers, of High Treason, was executed, and in the *Chapter House Books*, vol. clxxxi fol. 47, we find :—

"Values of all the Honors, Castles, Lordships, &c., of Edward, late Duke of Buckingham, for one whole year 13 Henry VIII.

"The Burgh of Newenham is worth in :

Rents within the Burgh there by the year	viij$^{s.}$
Rent called Stallage and Smokesyluere there by the year	xiij$^{s.}$
Toll happening this year	Nothing.
Issues of escheated lands this year ...	xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Perquisites by the Courts this year ...	Nothing.
	xxxiv$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Reprises—	
In decay with the default of rent there by the year	xxvij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
And it is worth clear, viij$^{s.}$"	

Perhaps we may take it that the "Stallage" above mentioned was another term for Rent of Stalls, &c., &c., at the Fairs. And "Smokesyleuere" may be the origin of Chimney Money.

On the death of Buckingham, the Manor of Newnham reverted to the Crown, and must have been very shortly afterwards given to the Abbey of Flaxley, in whose possession it was at the Dissolution, 36 Henry VIII., when it was granted by that monarch to Sir Anthony Kingston.

In the *Exchequer Lay Subsidies, Gloucester*, $\frac{114}{267}$, we have an assessment for the first payment of the subsidy granted 37 Henry VIII.: A.D. 1545.

"BURG. DE NEWHAM:

"John Sparks in goods woth ... ... xx$^{li.}$
Subs. xxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Johnne. Aram in gs. ... ... xix$^{li.}$
Subs. xix$^{s.}$
John Wetherley in gs.... ... ... xvj$^{li.}$
Subs. xvj$^{s.}$
John Hille in lands ... ... x$^{li.}$
Subs. xx$^{s.}$
Jamys Pomfrey in lands ... ... iij$^{li.}$
Subs. vi$^{s.}$
John Johnson in lands ... ... xxx$^{s.}$
Subs. iij$^{s.}$
John Smythe in lands ... ... xx$^{s.}$
Subs. ij$^{s.}$
John Webbe in gs. ... ... vij$^{li.}$
Subs. iv$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Ric. Standefast in gs. ... ... vi$^{li.}$
Subs. iiij$^{s.}$
Willm. Raynolds in gs. ... ... v$^{li.}$
Subs. iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Marget. Chyn in gs. ... ... v$^{li.}$
Subs. iii$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Willm. Hodge in gs. ... ... x$^{li.}$
Subs. x$^{s.}$
Summa v$^{li.}$ xviij$^{s.}$"

In the reign of Edward VI. the Augmentation Commissioners visited Gloucestershire, and in due course came to Newnham and gave their certificate, as is shown in the *Augmentation Office, Certificates of Colleges, &c.*, Certif. 22, No. 75, (Gloucester):

"The certificate of Anthony Hungerforde, Walter Bucler, William Sharyngton, and Miles Partridge, Knightes; Arthur Porter, Richard Tracye, Thomas Throckemerton, Esquires; Thomas Sternholde[1] and Richarde Pates, Gentilmen, Com-

[1] Probably one of the authors of the "Old Version" of the Psalms, who lived at an estate in Blakeney, called "The Hayfield." He died in 1549.—Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 860.

myssioners—appointed by vertue of the Kinges Maiesties Commission beinge date the xiiijth daye of Februarie, in the seconde yere of the reign of Edwarde the sixthe by the grace of God Kinge of Englonde, &c., &c.

"The pishe of Newnham w^th^in the said Deanery where are of houselying people Ciijx.

"Certeyn lands, Tents: and annuall rents w^th^in the same pishe:

"Given to the pisheno^rs^ there & to their successors pisheno^rs^ there they always to contente dispose and bestow the pffitts thereof comyng by their discresions, whiche they have used to employe, sometyme in reparyng the pmisses, sometyme in mendyng of highe weyes and bridgs w^th^in the same pshe; and sometymes & of late in findinge a prieste ther to serve for the soles of the givers or founders and for cten Xtian works.

"Robert Bennett [1] Incubent" (none) "there whoe dyed sithens the survey taken therof, Ideo —n^th^.

"The lands, tents, and rents, given and belonging to the same are worth by the yere *l* xiiij. i^d^. A.D. 1548.

"Ornamen^tl^. plate or Juellry to the same, None,
r. value x^s^."

Augmentation Office, Particulars for Grants, 3rd Edward VI., John Smyth, Section 2: A.D. 1550.

"COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

"Parish of Newnham in the said County of Gloucester.

"Parcel of certain lands and possessions given to the Parishioners there.

"The rents coming therefrom are expended in the maintenance of one Chaplain serving and celebrating in the aforesaid Church.

[1] So crossed out in the Record.

"Which parcel of the possessions is worth in
"The farm of one messuage or tenement in Newneham aforesaid in the tenure of John Sparke by Indenture as it is said, by the year ... ... viij$^{s.}$
at x yeares purchas ... iiij$^{li.}$
The sum appears—

"M^{dm} That the aboue said Tent. wth th'appurten^{a}nces together with certeyn other lands, Tents. and hereditam^{ts} were given to the pisheno^{r}z there and their successors pisheno^{r}z to dispose the pffts thereof comynge in suche wise as to theym shuld deeme mooste requisite. The Rents whereof they haue bestowed some tyme in mendynge highe weys & bridgs, but more comenlie in findinge of a prieste to celebrate in their seid pishe Churche.

"The 8th day of March in the 3rd year of King Edward VI. for John Smithe of Bristow Merchaunt ... ... } The clear yearly value of the premisses cvj$^{s.}$

"Whiche rated at the seuall rates aboue mencioned amoun^{td} to Cxij li xiiij$^{s.}$" [1]

"Memorand^{m} that I, John Smyth of Bristowe Merchaunte requyre to purchas of the Kings Highnes by vertue of his graces Commyssion for sale of lands, the messuage, lands, Tents., and hereditaments conteyned and specified in the pticler and rate hereunto annexed beyng of such cleer yerely value as in the same pticler and rate is expressed.

"In witnes whereof to this bill subscribed wth my hande I have sette my seale the eight daie of Marche in the thirde yere of the Reigne of o^{r} Soueraigne lorde Edwarde the sixt, by the grace of God Kyng of Englande Fraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith and of the Churche of Englande and also of Ireland in the earthe the supreme Hedde

By me Willm. Martyn
deput for John Smythe."

[1] Including other premises.

The following extract is interesting as being a note, or as we should now say, a valuation, of certain lands in the Parish of Newnham, held by different tenants paying rent to the Crown, in March, 1595, consolidated and granted to one "Hughe Sexey by H. M. Q. Elizbth in that year, for a term of Forty years."

It also gives the names of some of the then residents within the Parish, a few of which are still to be traced.

Exchequer Q. R. Misc. Books, Vol. xxii., fol. 243 :—

37 Elizabeth, A.D. 1595. "A note taken at Newenham in the Countie of Glouc. the xxiiith of Marche 1595.

"Newenham & Ruddle. } John Williams *alias* Wylkinson sonne of Robert Williams *alias* Wylkinson, holdeth a messuage or tente. and a garden and they afferme that they have held it for divers yeres tyme oute of mynde and pay yerely to her Matie. ... ... vs.

"This Williams did offer to Xtofer Hawkins if he would make him assurance to give him xiijs. ivd. which is more by viijs. iiijd. than her Maties Rent.

"John Chynne the sonne of Nicholas Chynne holdeth a tente with a Backside or Garden, and it is alledged that they and their ancestors have helde the same tyme oute of mynde, and payeth yerely to her Maytie ... ... vs.

"Willm. Frier holdeth likewise a tente with a garden the wch he had at the handes of John Whitfield and the said Frier hath held it by the space of xix or xxtie yeares and payeth yerely to her Matie ... ... vs.

"Thomas Kaynesham the sonne of Henry Kaynesham holdeth likewise one tente and a garden the wch he had of one Richard Wolds and the said Thomas Kaynesham hath held the same by the space of nyne or tenne yeares and before

that he dwelte five or sixe yeares in another tente of her Ma^ties^ and paid her the space of seaven yeares xvj^s.^ by the yere, and nowe for theis two yeres hath paid the Quenes Rent only which w^ch^ is v^s.^

"Henry Cooke holdeth one tente and a garden the which he had of one Robert Bufford and hath held it by the space of tenn or xi yeres, and did pay yerely to Robert Bufford during his lease xvj^s.^ w^ch^ lease ended or was yelded up to Mr. Sexey aboute three yeares past, and sithence that tyme hath paid yerely viz.: for two yeres vj^s.^ viij^d.^ by the yere and hath not paid for this last yere anything as yet for that he required more than the rent to Her Ma^tie^ is ... ... vj^s.^ viij^d.^

"Richard Bonde holdeth a tente and a litle garden, w^ch^ Bonde maryed the wief of James Hardwicke deceased, and they have held it by the space of seaven or eight yeares and paid yerely to one Richard Witt untill nowe of late xx^s.^ and the lease being ended they have sence paid onlie the ancient rent w^oh^ is ... ... xij^d^

James Hardwick had it
of Ric^d.^ Witt.

"John Lewes *alias* Sawyer holdeth a tente and a garden, and hath held it by the space of two yeres, and hath paid to Richard Witt for the last half yeres rent, the yerely rent of x^s.^ the Quenes rent being only v^s.^ by yere v

Mr. Sexey made
excepcon of this tente.

"John Piers holdeth one tente and a Backside, w^ch^ was late in the tenure of John Hodges, and nowe hath it of Xpofer Hawkins, and yeldeth yerely for the same ... ... ij^s.^

For divers yere he having the
whole interest.

The tenantes affirme y^t John Piers paid viij li for a fyne for his house and to kepe it in all repacons.

"Morrice Ayleway holdeth one pcell of land—called Griffithes Hay whereupon there was a house late in the tenure of John Sparkes sonne of Thomas Sparkes w^ch Ayleway nowe holdeth the same of the grante of Xpofer Hawkins, and yeldethe yerely for the same... ... ... x^d.

By Xpofer Hawkins lease.

"Thomas Trigge of the pishe of Newenham holdith one pcell of land called Clayhill late in the tenure of one Barber and claymeth it to be his freehold payeing a chieff rent of xij^d. by the yere ... xij^d.

"John Sparkes holdith one tente and a garden and claymeth ye same to be his free hold for the yerely rent of ij^s. and hath held it for many yeres... ij^s.

"John Phillippes holdeth of the demise of John Sparkes one tente and garden in Newenham w^ch Sparkes claymeth the same to be his free holde payeing to her Ma^tie the yerely rent of vj^d. and hath held it for many yeres not to be remembered by any man living ... ... vj^d

"Xpofer Hawkins holdeth two pcells of land payeing yerely xix^d. for one of whiche pcells he confesseth to pay the said xix^d. and to hold the other as his free land ... ... xix^d.

It was all enioyed by a lease granted
in the xv^to R^ue Elizabeth to Robert Lawe.

"Ann Phelpotts the daughter of widowe Barnes holdith a tente and a litle orchard thereto belonging, and there is paid yerely to her Ma^tie iiij^s. and hath it of the demise of the said Xpofer Hawkins w^ch Ann paid to the said Xpofer Hawkins for a fine iiij li upon whiche the said Hawkins hath bestowed charges in repacons, and more is to bestowe ... ... iiij^s.

"Walter Chynne holdith certain land the w^{ch} he claymeth as his free hold and payeth yerely to her Ma^{tie} as a free rent for all his landes and tentes ... iiij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$

iiij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$

"Richard Witt holdith certaine landes, antea John White, which he claymeth to be his free hold and payeth yerely a free rent ... ... ij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$

The quite rent is ij$^{s.}$ as appeareth by a deede shewed to me.

"Richard Hyll gent. holdeth a messuage or tente and a garden—which he claymeth to be his free hold paying yerely as a free rent ... ... vj$^{d.}$

"Thomas Hogdes payeth for two tentes w^{ch} he claymeth to hould as free lande viz. for either of them vj$^{d.}$ yerely ... ... xij$^{d.}$

"Richard Glewe holdith one tente which he claymeth to be his free holde land and payeth yerely ... ... vj$^{d.}$

"Theis landes before menconed are pcell of the service of o^{r} Lady in Newenham and are granted to Hughe Sexey by ltres Patentes of o^{r} Souaigne Lady Eliz: the Q. Ma^{tie} that nowe is, dated at Westm^{r} the xxvij daie of May in the xxxiiijth yere of her Highnes' raigne

To have and to hold from the making of the said ltres Patentes for the terme of fortie yeres."

THE MANOR OF NEWNHAM.

When speaking of the Manor of Newnham it is necessary to remember :—

First—That the Town or Burgh, and The Manor, were two distinct estates, and were from time to time held by

different families. Atkyns however, writing in 1712, tells us that then they were both vested in the Lord Stafford, and Rudder (1779) tells us that in his time the Earl of Effingham, representing the Stafford family, was Lord of the Manor.

Secondly—It should be remembered that within the Parish of Newnham there are parts of two, if not three, other Manors, viz.: Rodley, part in Newnham, but mostly in Westbury, lying to the north and east; and Ruddle, part in Awre, but mostly in Newnham, lying to the south and west.

Confusion also often arises from the fact of the similarity of the two names "Rodeley" and "Ruddle"—"Redlegh"—and the different ways of spelling them.

We are now dealing with the Manor of Newnham, lying in the centre of the Parish, and, although the smallest in area, the most important as regards value and population.

We will endeavour to trace the ownership of the Manor from the earliest times to the present day.

Both Atkyns and Rudder tell us that the Manor of Newnham was granted by Canute the Dane to Monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Pershoore, in the year 1018.

Atkyns, quoting from Domesday Book, tells us that "William the Conqueror gave it to William, the son of Baderon: It was then taxed at 1 Hide; the Tenantes paid a yearly rent of 20s., and there was a Wood, two Furlongs in length, and one Furlong in breadth."

Although we have no date for this Grant, yet, as the Conquest took place in 1066, and William died in 1087, we may suppose it to have taken place about 1077.

Atkyns, Rudder, and Fosbrooke, all agree in saying that the Manor was resigned to the Crown by Henry, Earl of Hereford 1 John; and the latter (Fosbrooke) tells us that "it came to the Earls of Hereford through Sibyl, daughter of Bernard de Newmarch, who married Milo, E. of Hereford —and whose daughter Margaret m[d] Humphrey de Bohun—which Humphrey was the Father of Henry, who resigned it to the King, as above." A.D. 1200.

In the 2nd year of Henry III. this Manor, with those of Awre and Cheltenham, was granted by the King to William, Earl of Salisbury, who died seized thereof 1226.

Upon the death of the Earl of Salisbury the Manor, as was customary in those days, would revert to the Crown, and we find that in 45 Henry III. (*i.e.* in 1260) Thomas Foliot died seized thereof.

We have before seen that this Thomas Foliot, at the time of his death, held the Chapels of Newnham and Minsterworth, as pertaining to his Church of Westbury.

In 11 Edward I. we find that Roger de Mortimer held the same. A.D. 1283.

And in 21 Edward I., when Walter le Mareschal was convicted of felony, and upon whose death an "Inquisition Post Mortem" was held (*see ante*), he, Walter, was seized thereof, and so the Manor again escheated to the Crown. A.D. 1293.

In the 4th Edward III. it was granted to Thomas, Earl of Norfolk. A.D. 1331.

It should be observed, however, that Fosbrooke gives a somewhat different account of these Grants. He says that "The Manor was there (*i.e.*, with the Crown) 9 Edward II. (1316), and having been soon after granted to Hugh le Despencer, was, upon his attainder, re-granted to Thos. de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, 1 Edward III. (1327)."

Neither Atkyns nor Rudder mention Hugh le Despencer as being seized of the Manor, but they all three agree in the fact that in the early part of the reign of Edward III. it was granted to the Earl of Norfolk; and further, that very shortly afterwards (6 Edward III.) it was granted to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, in which Grant it was mentioned to have lately belonged to Thomas, Earl of Norfolk. A.D. 1333.

In 20 Edward III. William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and Elizabeth his wife, did levy a Fine of the Manor of Newnham. A.D. 1347.

And in 46 Edward III. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and John his wife, were seized of the Manor of Newnham. A.D. 1373.

The youngest son of Edward III. was Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. He married Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, and thus became possessed of the Earldoms of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, and was Constable of England. He and his wife and Henry de Bohun, their son and heir, were seized of the Manor of Newnham 21 Richard II. A.D. 1398.

During the reign of Henry IV. the Manor was vested in Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Hereford, by right of his wife Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Eleanor de Bohun.

The sister and co-heiress of Anne was Mary, who was the first wife of King Henry IV., and through her the Manor, or a share of the Manor, reverted to the Crown in the person of King Henry V.

Upon the petition of Anne, however, King Henry V. gave it up to her as his "purparty" in the de Bohun estates, 9 Henry V. A.D. 1422.

By this means the Manor came into possession of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who died seized of 8s. Rent of Assize here and certain Customs, called Stalgall, Toll Stakepennys, View of Frankpledge and Court Baron. 39 Henry VI. (*See* Fosbrooke.) A.D. 1461.

The Manor appears to have remained with the Buckingham family until the attainder and execution of Edward Duke of Buckingham for high treason [12 Henry VIII.] (*ante* p. 157), when it again lapsed to the Crown. A.D. 1521.

Shortly after this it must have been granted to the Abbey of Flaxley, in whose possession it was at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, when it was granted to Sir William Kingston (28 Henry VIII.).[1] A.D. 1537.

Sir William Kingston died 1540, and was succeeded by his son Sir Anthony, to whom a new patent of the Flaxley

[1] *Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey*, p. 89.

estates was granted (36 Henry VIII.), an earlier patent, of the previous year, having been surrendered apparently on the ground of some informality.

In what year Anthony Kingston died we do not know, but we find that [in 2 Mary] the Manor was granted to Henry Lord Stafford, and that Edward Lord Stafford died, seized of the Manor, 2 James I. A.D. 1605.

Atkyns traces the genealogy of the Stafford family thus:

"Edward Lord Stafford, son of Lord Henry, died seized thereof" (*i.e.* of the Manor) "2 James" (as above) "and left Edward Lord Stafford his son and heir. This last Edward had a son named Edward who died before his father, and left a son named Henry, and a daughter named Mary. Henry died unmarried 1637, whereby Mary his sister became sole heiress: she married Sir William Howard, younger son of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who in her right became seized of the Manor of Newnham, and took the name of Stafford, and was created Viscount Stafford by King Charles I., was attainted upon account of the Popish Plot, and was beheaded 1678.

"Henry, eldest son of Lord Stafford and of Mary his wife, was created Earl of Stafford 4 James II.," and was, at the time of Atkyns, writing (1712), Lord of the Manor of Newnham, and kept a Court within the Borough.

Rudder, writing in 1779, tells us that the Earl of Effingham (a direct descendant of the Howards) was in his time Lord of the Manor of Newnham.

This was Thomas, third Earl, who succeeded his father 1763, and died, without male issue, 1791, when the title and estates devolved upon his brother Richard, fourth Earl, who died 1816.

The Manor must have descended to a junior branch of the family upon the death of Earl Thomas, or have been alienated by him or by Earl Richard towards the end of the last century; as Fosbrooke (1807) tells us that "Henry Howard, Esq., M.P., now holds it;" as is also shown by the Court Roll of the Court held at the Bear Inn, 23rd

October, 1801, "before John Matthews, gentleman, Steward there."

The Manor was held by one or other members of the Howard family until the year 1832, and during all that time the Rolls, appointments, and presentments were duly made, filled up, and recorded.

It is to be observed that all notices, precepts, &c., &c., were issued for "*the Borough and Manor*" of Newnham.

In the year 1831, the last year of which we have a complete record, Henry Howard, Esq., was Lord of the said Borough and Manor, and Thomas Tovey, gentleman, was Steward. The Court that year was held on Thursday, 3rd day of November, "at the Dwelling House of Richard Russell, commonly called or known by the Name or Sign of the Upper George Inn," &c., &c.

"Mr. William & Mr. John Letcher } were appointed Constables for the said Borough and Manor.

Mr. James King was appointed Hayward for the said Borough and Manor.

Mr. James Hill was appointed Bailiff for the said Borough and Manor."

Shortly after this the Manor passed into the hands of the late Mr. John James, and was sold by his trustees in the year 1865, "with the Tolls, Fishery, and Appurtenances," and after passing through two or three different ownerships, it came into the hands of the present Lord, Mr. Kerr, of "The Haie," in the year 1886.

The Manor of Ruddle, which lies mostly in the Parish of Newnham but partly in the Parish of Awre, must not be confounded with that of Rodley, which lies partly in the Parish of Newnham but mostly in the Parish of Westbury-on-Severn.

This difficulty is alluded to in the account of Flaxley Abbey by A. W. Crawley-Boevey (p. 35), and becomes at once apparent if we compare Atkyns (1712), p. 576 (Ruddle), with Rudder (1779), p. 793 (Westbury).

Nor is the difficulty overcome when we refer to Domesday Book itself, where under the head of "LVIII Terra Walterii Balistar," in Westberie Hund. :—"Isd: Walter ten: Rodele Ibi. 1. hida geld: Tovi tenuit. In d'nio est 1. car. & 11. vill' 1 & iiij bord cum ij car: Valuit xl sol. modo x sol."

Atkyns tells us that this "Rodele" was Ruddle. Rudder does not agree with him, saying that "Rodele" was "Rodley" in Westbury.

Taking Atkyns' view, however, we find Tovi, a Saxon Thane, known as "The Proud," holding the Manor in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Shortly after the Conquest, Walter Balistarius held Ruddle, and to him succeeded Ralph Bluet, who is supposed to have been a near relation, a son, nephew, or son-in-law, of Walter the engineer. A.D. 1086.

Ralph Bluet gave the Manor of Rodele and a Fishery to the Abbey of Gloucester, and this Grant was confirmed by King William II. in the year 1096, and King Henry I., in his last year, gave and confirmed the Manor of Rudele to the Abbey, to find lights to burn continually before the high altar of St. Peter's, for the soul of Duke Robert his brother. He also granted and confirmed to them a fishery in the Severn, and a wood called "Sudrug"—and to the Sacrist of the Abbey, Common for all his cattle through the whole Forest of Dean.

Duke Robert died in Cardiff Castle in the year 1134, and Henry I. died 1135.

Stephen confirmed this Grant in 1138.

So also did Henry II. when he visited Newnham.

King Henry III. by his Charter dated at Newnham, confirmed this Fishery to the Abbey as fully as Henry I. had granted it.

Richard Heved (or Head) of Ruddle, his ancestors and his descendants, farmed the Manor from the Abbey for many generations.

The Manor continued in the possession of the Abbey until the dissolution.

It was then granted to William, Earl of Pembroke (7 Edward VI.) who sold it to Sir Giles Pool (4 Mary). A.D. 1557.

The Manor of Ruddle continued in the possession of the Pool family for some years, and there is still in existence an ancient map drawn on parchment (two skins conjoined) purporting to be:—"The Survey of the Manor of Ruddle, within the County of Gloucester, being part of the Possessions of the Right Noble Henry Poole of Cirencester, Taken in August, One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighteen, by me, Elias Allen. Also—This Table sheweth Alphabetically every Tenantes holdinge both by Copy and Lease."

The high road from Chepstow to Newnham, and many of the enclosures, are shown exactly as they are at the present day, and it may be noted that "Heads Farm" is marked, not as belonging to a tenant, although it now forms part of the estate and is within the Manor.

Atkyns (1712) tells us that it (the Manor of Ruddle) now belongs to Mr. Jones.

Rudder (1779) says:—"It is now the property of Raynon Jones of Nass, in the Parish of Lidney, Esq., who hath lately built a handsome house, very pleasantly situated, at Hayhill, in this hamlet, and annually holds a Court Leet for this Manor.

In the year 1840, at a Court held at Ruddle, a perambulation was made of the Manor, and duly presented. This perambulation is still occasionally made, and metes and bounds are faithfully described, but the Court Rolls have been indifferently kept, and beyond the Fishery and Sporting Rights there is little value attaching to it.

The Manor passed in the year 1850 out of the Jones family to that of Willetts, and from them, in 1857, into that of the present proprietor, Mr. Kerr, who has succeeded in bringing the Manors of Newnham and Ruddle into one ownership.

The Manor of Rodley, which lies mostly in the Parish

of Westbury, but partly in the Parish of Newnham, was never, as Rudder tells us, any part of the possessions of the Abbey of Gloucester, although Atkyns, confusing it with Ruddle, as above, says that "Henry I. gave it to the Monastry for the good of the soul of his Brother Robert.

In the Hundred Rolls of Edward I., in The Hundred of Westbury, we find :—"The Jurors say that Roger Cadel gave five acres of land out of the Manor of Rodley to the Abbot of Flaxley in pure alms[1], whereby his lord The King has lost his tallage, &c., belonging to him."

It would appear that Rudder's account of this Manor is the correct one, and that it formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Rudder (1779) tells us that Sir W^m. Guise, Bart., was then Lord of the Manor, as his descendant, the present Sir William now is.

In the perambulation made in the reign of King Charles II., after describing certain Forest Boundaries, and starting from Newnham's Pill, we find :—"And thence up that stream into the Highway leading from Newnham to Dean, ascending that Highway unto Dean's Hill, and thence leaving the bounds of the Manor of Rodley on the Right Hand, and the Hundred of St. Briavels on the Left Hand, &c., &c., &c."[2]

This gives the exact position of the Manor of Rodley, "on the Right Hand"—*i.e.*, north—of the Dean Road ; the Manor of Newnham being in the centre, and the Manor of Ruddle in the south. A.D. 1667.

It includes also in "up that stream, &c., &c., &c.," Staure or Stears, a Manor mentioned in Domesday Book, as being in "Wesberie" Hundred. "Will: fil: Baderon ten: Staure Ulfeg tenuit valuit x sol: Modo v. sol: &c., &c."

William de Staure died seized of lands, &c., &c., &c., at Staure, in the Manor of Rodley, at the Fee of Henry of Lancaster, 2 Edward II. (1309).

The foregoing extracts have been made from Public

[1] *Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey*, p. 45. [2] *Ibid*, p. 25.

Records, including Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls, Chancery Rolls, &c., &c., but they cannot be taken as a history of Newnham, such as we should like to see.

Upon many points we have no information whatever, as for instance the burning of Newnham, which took place "post festum S. Michaelis," as we are told in the *Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey;* but as the Charter, No. 59, is without date, we cannot give the year.

Again, only a few years ago, in making alterations in the garden of Riverdale, Newnham, a number of human bones were discovered, evidently of bodies buried in haste or thrown into the ground without any proper burial at all, but we have not even a tradition as to how they came there.

Again, we are told that for many years there was a Mayor, and Burgesses of the Borough, and it may be supposed that some sort of Record was kept of their proceedings, but we have no information on the subject.

Again, we are told that in some bygone time Newnham sent a representative to Parliament. It was certainly an ancient borough, of which there were five in the County in the time of King Edward the First, but beyond this historians are silent upon the subject.

It is much to be regretted that in the compilation of what ought to be a very interesting chapter of local history we have so very few, if any, private MSS. to refer to.

It may be that there are still to be found in the muniment-rooms of country houses, in the safes of old-established firms of solicitors, or among the archives of public institutions, neglected and long-forgotten Records which might throw light upon the history of Newnham and the immediate neighbourhood, of a much more authentic character than we have yet been able to acquire.

Should any such document come to light, we need hardly say how gladly it would be received by the compilers of these Transactions, who cannot but feel that their work is in many respects sadly incomplete.

With regard to the sword of Newnham mentioned on p. 12 of the "Transactions" for the year 1893-94: Whatever its actual history may be, there can be no doubt of its great antiquity.

The legend engraved upon it runs:

"John Morse being Maier
This Sord did repaier
1594."

Although some of the letters are obliterated, the date is quite clear, and proves it to have been an ancient sword at the end of the XVIth Century.

CORRIGENDA.

The writer of the paper on "Ladies' Dress in the Middle Ages," vol. xvi., regrets that, through the failure of the printers, a reprint of page 118 was not issued to all the members, and that therefore a grave error has remained uncorrected in many copies of the Transactions; and she asks them to note that the lines 7 to 12 on that page, beginning "It was during," &c., refer to the *first* instead of the *second* wife of Thomas, Lord Berkeley.

Also, on plate iv., *read* "Treves Cathedral" instead of Malmesbury Church.

Corrections for the Paper on "The Cirencester Guild Merchant."—Both in the paper on "The Manor and the Town of Cirencester in our vol. ix., and in the paper on "The Guild Merchant" in this volume of our Transactions, I have said that the Guild Charter was annulled in 5 Henry V. This, I find, is a mistake. It should be 1 Henry V., and the original entry of the suit I have just found in the *Coram Rege Roll* for the Hilary Term of that year, on rot. 30. The mistake arose from the entry of the Charter in the *Abbey Cartularies*, where it is said to have been revoked 5 Henry V.; and the transcript of the suit among the Chancery County Placita, 47 B., is endorsed 5 Henry V., which, however, is only the date of the transcript, upon writ of *certiorari* from the king, presumably for the purpose of sending a copy to the Abbot for entry in his *Cartularies*, where the greater portion of the suit may still be found, at the end of vol. A. I had copied only the material pleadings, in which no date is mentioned, the only date being in the preliminary writ to the Sheriff, "anno primo." This, as being only an anticipatory statement of the proceedings, I had neglected. The point is not very material, but it is as well to be exact. It is curious that the same error was made by the Court of Exchequer in Elizabeth's reign, when giving judgment in favour of Sir

John Danvers, then lord of the manor, against those townsmen who were trying once more to set up the illegal Guild. The Barons referred to the *Scire facias* judgment given 5 Henry V., by which the Charter had been repealed.—*Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Hil.* 25, vol. x.

I have also just come across two other documents bearing on the matter of my paper on the Merchant Guild. In the *Exchequer Q. R. Memoranda Roll*, 2 Henry IV., among the writs of Hilary Term is one dated 13th February, anno 2°, in favour of the men of the town of Cirencester (*homines de villa de Cirencestre*), granting to them all the goods and chattels of the rebel Earls found at Cirencester (*apud villam predictam*) except gold and plate and jewels. In these *Exchequer Rolls* of the early years of Henry IV. are a number of processes for the recovery to the King's use of the effects of the rebel Earls. Among them, in the roll of 3 Henry IV., and entered on rot. 24 of Hilary Term, is one against certain Cirencester men, which was prolonged till Hilary 5 Henry IV., when the men produced a writ from the King, dated 5th December, anno 5°, granting to the men of his borough of Cirencester (*burgi sui de Cirencestre*) all the goods and chattels of the rebel Earls, and their gold and plate and jewels found in the said borough (*in burgo supradicto*). It will be remembered that it was in the King's fourth year that the Cirencester folk had petitioned that they might be incorporated as a free borough with a Mayor. In reply, the King had illegally granted to the men of the town of Cirencester that they might have a Merchant Guild, with a Master thereof. He had not ventured actually to incorporate them and grant them burgess rights: he dignifies them, however, now by calling them the men of his borough of Cirencester; but it was a matter of style only, and in no way affected the real condition of the town, as the suits of 1 Henry V. shew, in which there was no mention made of a borough.

E. A. FULLER.

November 12, 1894.

Notices of Publications.

CARTULARIUM SAXONICUM. A COLLECTION OF CHARTERS RELATING TO ANGLO-SAXON HISTORY. By Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A. Vol. I., xxii., xxvi., and 600; Vol. II., x., xxiv, 604, and xxii. London: Whiting & Co., Limited. Vol. III., vii, xxxvi., and 696. London: Charles J. Clark.

This great work—for it is a great work—has now been completed as far as the death of King Edgar on July 8, 975. I s three volumes contain 1325 texts, which range from a Charter which purports to have been granted by St. Patrick to Glastonbury in A.D. 430, to Charters of King Edgar which are dated in the year of his death. "Many of which," the compiler says, "have been hitherto unpublished, and all of which have been collated with the originals—with a very few exceptions indeed, where the originals were inaccessible,—so that the student may consult them as they actually stand in their manuscripts, with whatever errors the scribes of those manuscripts have perpetuated; thereby inviting emendations of them, rather than attempting myself to emend what appears faulty or incorrect."

The extent and value of this work may be estimated by comparing it with the work of predecessors in the same field. The first work in which students of Old English history were really brought face to face with the documentary evidence on which so much of their research must be based was the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, by J. M. Kemble, six volumes, A.D. 1839 to 1848. This work contained in all 1369 Charters ranging in date from A.D. 604 to A.D. 1066. The work was, however, very much more than a mere collection of documents. Volume i. contains an introduction extending over cxvii. pages, which contains much valuable information concerning the form of early English land charters, and the methods of conveyance of land; of the burdens which lay upon the land and the immunities from taxation of some kinds of land; of the rights of the Crown with regard to the land. Volume iii. contains a glossary of words describing the natural features of the country, drawn to a considerable extent from the Confirmation Charter of Pershore Abbey A.D. 972. While the last volume contains in the preface a list of the Authorities, manuscript and printed, which were used in the compilation of the work; and it closes with an index of the names of places. It should be added that Kemble marked all the documents which he considered to be doubtful or spurious; so that the *Codex* is in that respect most helpful to the student.

Comparing the *Codex Diplomaticus* with the three volumes of the *Cartularium Saxonicum* which have yet appeared, as they stand, it will be seen that each work surpasses the other in some respects. The later work contains a far larger number of documents for the period which it covers; though, as we shall see, the excess is partly made up of a class of documents which Kemble of set purpose excluded. It also professes to give the documents as they were written, with collations of other texts;

while Kemble seldom gives collations, and sometimes constructed an eclectic text from different copies. Furthermore, Kemble was guilty of altering Latin and Old English forms which he found in the documents, or at any rate of allowing alterations of that kind which had been made by others to pass, as for instance in suppressing the variant forms of proper names in favour of an uniform standard. And lastly, the usefulness of Kemble's work was much marred by the fact that he separated the land-boundaries from the body of the grants, so that they must be sought for at the end of the third and sixth volumes of his work.

The documents as printed in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* profess to be not only exact representations of the document which is taken as the text, but also to contain a collation of the various readings in other copies of the document, so that the student may see with his own eyes, and not simply through the spectacles of an editor; and the land-boundaries are printed with the grants to which they belong. This last is a most important point, for there is no doubt at all that in very many cases indeed points in the boundaries of the ancient manor could be identified with points in the existing boundaries of the relative modern parish, if only they could be brought under the notice of those who possess the requisite local knowledge of the places, and the necessary interest in the subject. This would be a most interesting branch of local enquiry if it could be taken up by the right people.

On the other hand, although the later work far surpasses the earlier one in the number of documents printed, and in the accuracy, and fulness of authority, with which they are presented to the student; there at present its superiority ceases. There are the bare documents with the authorities for each, but nothing more. There is no help to enable the reader to distinguish between genuine and spurious documents; even in the table in volume iii., showing the comparative numeration of the documents in the *Codex* and the *Cartularium*, there is nothing to show which documents Kemble stigmatised as doubtful or spurious. There is no classified list of authorities, there is no index of places or persons, though with regard to the latter point Mr. Birch's *Anglo-Saxon Abbots*, 1872, supplies the need to some extent so far as the heads of the Old English religious houses are concerned.

However, Mr. Birch promises a supplementary volume, which he states is now in course of preparation, and which will consist of a general introduction to the whole subject, and will contain tables of genuine and doubtful texts; fasti of royal and other personages; lists of con ributory manuscripts; and full indices of persons, places, and subjects; serving as a manual to the study of the subject.

Until this volume is published, it will be impossible to say how far the *Cartularium* supersedes the *Codex;* at any rate, at present neither work can be relied on without the other. The superior accuracy of Mr. Birch's volumes cannot be utilised without a fund of information which he has not yet supplied.

The next important volume to the *Codex Diplomaticus* was the *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici* of Benjamin Thorpe, 1865. This is mainly a compilation from Mr. Kemble's work, though it contains a few later documents as far as the end of the eleventh century. Mr. Earle, in his

preface to the *Land Charters*, states that it would be safe to say "that when Thorpe's deeds are added to Kemble's the total number would fall under 1400." To one who is familiar with Kemble's work, and who has a competent knowledge of the Old English language, the *Diplomatarium* will bring but little new information; but to those whose acquaintance with Old English is limited the book has a very real value, because all the Old English portions are provided with a translation in a parallel column. Thus with regard to our own shire, we have an English translation of Ealdorman Ethelred's settlement of the dispute between the minsters at Worcester and Berkeley relating to Stoke Bishop, of the decree of the Mercian Witan relating to the woodland at Woodchester, and of the settlement of the dispute concerning the land of the See of Worcester at Sodbury. These translations are of very real value to the beginner in the study of Old English, and are not altogether to be despised by those who are more advanced.

The third volume of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1871, contains a large number of documents relating to the foundation and development of the English Church, ranging from the Mission of St. Augustine, A.D. 595, to the death of Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, February 4, 870. In point of time therefore the documents extend over a much smaller space than do those in the *Codex* or the *Cartularium*. The scope of the work, however, is of course much wider, including as it does extracts from early histories, decrees of synods, and letters from popes and foreign bishops. The documents which are adopted from Kemble are taken for the most part without alteration; so that as far as the point of textual accuracy is concerned there is no advance upon his work. But the great value of the third volume of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* lies in the notes of the editor, the present Bishop of Oxford. His unrivalled knowledge of the history of the period, and of the persons who made that history, render the book quite indispensable for anyone who is interested in the portion of the history of England which falls within its range. And though the documents are professedly only those which concern the history of the Church, yet the interests of Church and State were so closely interwoven that the student of secular history will find very much to interest and assist him in his work.

Considerations of this kind have led Mr. Birch to admit to the pages of the *Cartularium* documents, such as papal letters, professions of newly-consecrated bishops, and extracts from ecclesiastical historians, which Mr. Kemble had excluded from the pages of the *Codex;* on the ground that they serve to illustrate the history of the deeds by the side of which they stand. And it will hardly be denied that, bearing in mind the close connection of Church and State at that period, he is wise in doing so.

In 1888 the Rev. John Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, published *Land Charters and Saxonic Documents*, a book which, now that the *Codex* is for most persons unattainable, gives the best accessible introduction to the study of early English documents. Indeed until Mr. Birch has published his promised volume, the *Land Charters* forms a most helpful companion to his three volumes of texts. It consists of an introduction of

cxi. pages, which deals with, firstly, the outline and structure of the land charter, including some notice of the marks of degeneracy; secondly, the relations between land-tenure and the elementary frame of English society; and lastly, the varying conditions of the two languages employed in the composition of these documents. Then it contains a typical collection of documents in Latin and Old English arranged under different degress of authenticity, and concludes with notes and a very practical index.

There are two sources of information open to Mr. Birch and Mr. Earle of which the earlier writers could not avail themselves, and these are *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, volumes i.—iv., A.D. 1873—1878; and *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, published by the Ordnance Survey, parts i. and ii., 1878 and 1881. Mr. Birch has incorporated a large number of the documents contained in these publications into his work.

We shall best understand the nature and value of the information afforded by the documents contained in the *Cartularium* by an examination of those connected with our own shire, a list of which consisting of eighty-three documents is given at the end of this notice. The earliest of them, Osric's foundation charter of the minster at Bath, and Ethelred's charter founding the minsters at Gloucester and Pershore, and the grants of the same king of land near Tetbury to St. Aldhelm, and at Henbury and Aust to Oftfor, Bishop of the Huiccians, take us back to the very beginning of Christianity in the district. For Penda, the last great mainstay of heathenism among the English, had been slain at the battle of the Winwæd only twenty-one years before Bath Abbey was founded, and King Ethelred, who was a son of Penda, was certainly born a heathen, and probably remained so during his childhood and youth, for Christianity seems first to have entered the family of Penda through the marriage of Peada, his eldest son, with Alchfleda, a Northumbrian princess. The expression in Osric's foundation charter of Bath Abbey—"Cum nobis evangelica et apostolica dogmata post baptismi sacramentum, deo suffragante, fuissent delata, et omnia simulachrorum figmenta ridiculosa funditus diruta"—plainly shows that he too was baptised after he had reached years of understanding, and probably after he had become King of the Huiccians. The latest of the documents is King Edgar's charter of confirmation to the Benedictine Abbey of Pershore.

The oldest original charter relating to land in our shire is 230, a grant of land at Sulmonnesburg by King Offa to his thegn Duddo, in A.D. 779, which is preserved in the British Museum. Sulmonnesburg is the camp close to the village of Bourton-on-the-Water, which at the date of Domesday gave its name to the Hundred, now known as the Slaughter Hundred. The land-boundaries given in the charter correspond well with the boundaries of the existing parish of Bourton-on-the-Water. In Domesday, Bourton appears as a possession of the Church of Evesham, a circumstance which no doubt accounts for the preservation of the charter.

There is also one other original eighth century charter relating to land in Gloucestershire, and that is 274, by which King Offa granted fifty-five cassates at Westbury-on-Trym to Ealdorman Ethelmund; this document

also is preserved in the British Museum. The land formed a part of the bequest of Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, to the Cathedral at Worcester, a fact which would account for its preservation.

But the chief sources from which the documents are drawn are the chartularies of the religious houses; and we in Gloucestershire are fortunate in possessing excellent authorities of this kind in the chartularies of the Abbeys at Worcester and Bath.

The chartulary of Worcester was compiled by Heming, a monk of the Cathedral Monastery, under the direction of St. Wulfstan, who held the See from his consecration on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin 1062, till his death on January 18, 1095. That good and prudent prelate was for many years the only English Bishop who retained an English See, and was probably among the Domesday commissioners who were responsible for the visitation of Cheshire and the neighbouring districts.

No doubt St. Wulfstan saw how necessary it was that at a period when almost all the land in lay hands in England had passed from Englishmen to Normans in twenty years, that the Church should be able to show a clear title to the estates which she held. How well the work was done will appear from the text of the original Worcester documents in the *Cartularium*, such as 187 and 274, with the collations from Heming's Cartulary, M.S. Cotton, Tiberius A xiii. In some of the Worcester documents, such as 123, 163, 183, 272 and 273, 434 and 435 in the *Cartularium*, there is a still older authority in M.S. Cotton, Nero E1, which Kemble assigns to about A.D. 1000. Of document 123 there are three forms—one in M.S. Nero E1, and two in Heming. Of these, Professor Earle says, *Land Charters*, page 311: "The fact is, no accommodation will make this piece anything but a crude attempt to construct the early history of benefactions." He is speaking of the form taken from M.S. Nero E1; and if he is correct, the editing of the Worcester documents must have commenced long before the Conquest. However, the Worcester book takes a deservedly high place among the chartularies of the religious houses.

The next important source of documents relating not so much perhaps directly to our shire, but to the Huiccian realm, of which it formed a part, is the M.S. cxi. in the library bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, the contents of which are principally matters relating to the Church of Bath. Professor Earle says, *Land Charters*, page 369: "The book is in good early writing to page 129, of which the earliest part is pages 55—129; at page 116 (back) is the date 1136." As all the Bath documents contained in the three volumes of the *Cartularium* are found in the earliest part of the book, there is good reason for thinking that they had acquired their present form before 1136; and in fact there is no reason for doubting that they are good copies of genuine documents. No doubt the Bath book was compiled for the same reason which led to the compilation of Heming's Chartulary at a rather earlier date.

The Gloucester and Evesham documents stand on a very different footing from those in the Worcester and Bath books. The foundation charter of Gloucester, 60 and 535, is certainly not in its present form genuine, or a true copy of a genuine document; and the early Evesham

documents, 117, 118, 125, and 126, are stigmatised as spurious by the Bishop of Oxford (*Council and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii., 280-1).

There are no other families of documents that require special mention; the remainder of the Gloucestershire charters are for the most part isolated pieces, each of which must be considered on its own merits. The important Pershore charter, 1282, has been considered in the history of the Huiccian Monasteries.

It is difficult to overestimate the interest of these documents to the student of the early history of our shire. They shew, for instance, how the rulers of the Huiccian realm gradually sank in importance. Osric and Oshere in the seventh century are distinctly entitled "Rex"; but at the beginning of the eighth century Ethilweard is only "subregulus," and we hear of no more "Reges" at all, and of no more "subreguli" till the reign of Offa. Then in 757 Eanberht was "regulus Huicciorum," and in 767 Uhtred was "Huicciorum subregulus," as was Aldred in 777: these three were brethren, and with them the title became extinct. Ethelmund, who was slain at Kempsford in A.D. 800, was Ealdorman of the Huiccians, and no doubt one of the five Ealdormen of the Mercians who fell in battle side by side with their king, Ludecan, in A.D. 825, also ruled over the Huiccian realm. It is likely also that Ealdorman Ethelred, the son-in-law of King Alfred, was in the first instance ruler of the Huiccians: but I have not been able to trace any successors. In the eleventh century the boundaries of the ealdormanships were regulated by the shires, and by that time the Huiccians had ceased to exist as a separate nationality.

Again, we may trace the foundation, and growth and vicissitudes, of the early Huiccian churches. How in the first flush of the generous enthusiasm which followed on the conversion, fully one-fourth of the land in what is now Gloucestershire east of the Severn, and Somerset north of the Avon, had passed into the possession of the Church. Before the death of Osric, the founder of the earliest of them, the great minsters of Bath, Worcester, Gloucester, Pershore, and Evesham; and the lesser houses at Bredon (which produced an Archbishop of Canterbury, Tatwin, within fifteen years of its foundation), Westbury-on-Trym, Withington, and Cleeve, had all sprung into being. Then we pass into the puzzling darkness of the middle and end of the eighth century, when the enthusiasm had spent itself. And we find the heirs of the founders striving to reclaim church lands to secular uses: the sons of Oshere compelling St. Ecgwin to surrender the land at Fladbury; and Bucga attempting to retain the estate of the monastery at Withington, although she was married. We see Ethelbald, who is charged by Boniface with being a corruptor of nuns, yet richly endowing religious houses; and Offa plundering the church of Worcester of its estates at Bath, and yet restoring to it the land at Westbury-on-Trym. In the middle of the next century we find the Bishops of Worcester buying back the ancient possessions of their church, and possibly a few new estates from such rulers as Burhred and Ceolwulf; and in the last quarter of the ninth century we find the noble three—Ethelred, Ethelfleda, and Werefrith—restoring the churches after the wreck of the Danish invasions. Then there follows a period of ecclesiastical sloth and decay until the time of the Benedictine revival under Edgar, with which the third volume of the *Cartularium* closes.

The charters enable us to understand the life of the people far more completely than do the histories or laws of the period. Take the case of the men of the estate at Tidenham, granted by King Edwy to the abbey of Bath A.D. 956. The land divisions there are just what they are now: Stræt or Stroat, Middeltune or Tidenham, Cingestun or Sedbury, Biscopestun or Bishton, Landcawet or Lancaut; and several points mentioned in the land boundaries can still be traced in the boundaries of the parish. There is a schedule of the services due from the cultivators of the soil: to ride, to carry, and lead loads; to plough so much land, and to prepare the seed for sowing; to reap and mow a certain area; to do a fixed quantity of ditching and fencing. With regard to the fisheries, then as now most important at Tidenham: to provide a certain quantity of large or small rods, or to construct so much of the wickerwork for the fisheries, and to make a clew of good net-yarn. And, finally, certain payments in money and kind are recorded as due. Similar services, so far as farm work is concerned, are recorded as due from an estate at Stoke by Hysseburn, granted by King Edward to the refectory of the old minster at Winchester in A.D. 900. There is no reason to suppose that the services recorded as due from the men on these estates were in any way exceptional, but rather that they are fairly typical of the services due from the "homines" or "manentes" or "tributarii," or the occupiers of the "mansi," "mansiones," or "cassati" of the various estates referred to in the charters; from the time when Osric endowed his monastery at Bath with the land of "centum manentes" in A.D. 676, and King Ethelred gave the land "xxx cassatorum" at Henbury and Aust to Bishop Oftfor about A.D. 692, right on until the system of villeinage broke up after the visitation of the Black Death in the fourteenth century.

Another point on which the charters throw great light is the permanence of the place-names of the shire. They seem to have been already by the eighth century just what they are now; the conquest of the district after the battle of Dyrham was complete, and the conquerors called the lands by their own names. In this connection it is very interesting to note the early forms of the name "Aust." In 75, the grant of land by King Ethelred to Bishop Oftfor, about A.D. 692, it is "æt Austin"; in 269, a confirmation of King Offa in A.D. 794, it is "æt Austan; while in 665, a grant of King Athelstan in 929 with land boundaries, it is also "æt Austan."

The place-name may not be derived from that of the great apostle of the English; but if that were its derivation it could not well have taken closer forms than those which are found in the documents. And it must be remembered that St. Austin met the British bishops somewhere near the boundary between the Huiccians and West Saxons, which in this district would have been the Bristol Avon, less than a century before King Ethelred gave the land at Aust to the Bishop of the Huiccians.

The *Cartularium Saxonicum* is a book that certainly ought to be found in every public library in the shire; it contains information that can be obtained in no other work, and information of a kind which Gloucestershire and Worcestershire possess in much greater abundance than do most of the neighbouring shires—thanks to the monks of King Osric's foundations at Worcester and Bath.

DOCUMENTS IN THE "CARTULARIUM SAXONICUM" REFERRING TO GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

43. Grant by Osric, king of the Huiccians, to Bertana, founding the Abbey of Bath. November 6, A.D. 676.
59. Grant by Æthelred, king of the Mercians, to Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, of land near Tetbury. A.D. 680 for 681.
60. Charter of king Æthelred, founding the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. A D. 671 for 681.
75. Grant by Æthelred, king of the Mercians, to Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Henbury and Aust. A.D. 691-692.
117. Grant by Ailric, son of king Oshere, of land at Child's Wickham to Evesham. A.D. 706.
118. Grant by Walter the priest of land at Upper Swell to Evesham. A.D. 706.
125. Grant by Kenred, king of the Mercians, and Offa, king of the East Angles, of land at Willersey and Child's Wickham to Evesham. A.D. 709. Certainly later than the Benedictine Reformation of the Abbey in A.D. 969.
130. Statement of Bishop Ecgwine respecting the lands of Evesham. Certainly spurious.
134. Grant by Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, of land at Weston-on-Avon, Lark Stoke, and Hidcote Boyce, to Evesham. A.D. 716.
153. Grant by Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, of land at Bradanlæh to Cyneburga. Nov. 24, A.D. 723, 729, or 735.
156. Settlement by Nothelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Synod of the Monastery at Withington. A.D. 736-737.
163. Grant by Æthelbald, king of the South Angles, of land at Batsford to Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester. A.D. 716-743.
164. Grant of Æthelbald, king of the South Angles, of land at Woodchester to Worcester Cathedral. A.D. 716-743.
165. Grant by Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, of lands at Cold Aston and Notgrove to Osred of the Royal family of the Huiccians "in possessionem juris Ecclesiastici." A.D. 743.
166. Grant for two lives by Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester, to the Comes Leppa and his daughter Beage of land at Bibury. A.D. 721-743.
187. Grant by Eamberht, Uhctred, and Aldred to Abbot Headda (of Worcester) of land at Onnanford (in Withington). A.D. 759.
217. Grant by Milred, Bishop of Worcester, to the Abbess Æthelburga (of Worcester), of land at Withington. A.D. 774.
226. Grant by Offa, king of the Angles, of land at Ductun and Esig (? Doughton in Tetbury and Eisey) to St. Mary's Monastery at Worcester. A.D. 775-778.
230. Grant by Offa, king of the Mercians, of land in Sulmonnesburg (Bourton-on-the-Water) to his thegn Duddo. A.D. 779. See 882.
231. Confirmation by Offa, king of the Mercians, and Aldred, Subregulus of the Huiccii, of land at Yate to Worcester. A.D. 778-779.

232. Grant by Uhtred, of the Huiccii, of land at Habene homme, extending from the river Carent to the top of Bredon Hill, to the thegn Ceolmund. A.D. 778-779.

240. Grant by Offa, king of the Mercians, of land at Iccombe in exchange for land at Sapey to Worcester. December 26, 781.

241. Synod at Brentford. Offa takes possession of Bath, and confirms other estates to Worcester. A.D. 781.

246. Grant by Offa Rex and Aldred Subregulus of land at Timbingctun to the Monastery at Cleeve. A.D. 769-785.

269. Confirmation by Offa, king of the Mercians, of land at Aust to Worcester. A.D. 794.

272. Grant by Offa, king of the English, of land at Westbury and Henbury to Worcester. A.D. 791-796.

273. Another form of the preceding Charter.

274. Grant of king Offa to the thegn Æthelmund of land at Westbury. A.D. 793-796.

283. Reversionary grant by Headda, Abbot (of Worcester) of land at Dowdeswell and elsewhere to the Monastery at Worcester. A.D. 781-798.

299. Boundaries of Withington. Circa A.D. 800.

304. Grant by Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Barnsley and Colesbourne to Balthun the priest for two lives. Circa A.D. 802.

307. Grant by Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, of land at "Hereforda" to Eanswith for her life. Circa A.D. 802. I suspect that this is Harford on the Windrush, near Bourton-on-the-Water. See 1105.

309. Agreement between Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, and Wlfheard, Bishop of Hereford, concerning Beckford and Cheltenham. October 12, A.D. 803.

313. Synod at Acle. Declaration by Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, concerning his property. A.D. 804.

314. Short form of preceding Charter.

327. Grant by Cynulf, king of the West Saxons, of land at North Stoke to the Abbey at Bath. A.D. 808 for 758.

338. Foundation Charter of Winchcombe. November 11, A.D. 811.

350. Grant by Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, to Coenulf, king of the Mercians, of land at Twining, in exchange. December 26, A.D. 814.

351. Grant by Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Guiting to king Kenulf, in exchange. A.D. 814.

379. Settlement of the dispute relating to the Monastery at Westbury. October 30, A.D. 824.

416. Grant by Wiglaf, king of the Mercians, to the Monastery of "Heanbyrg." A.D. 836. From the mention of salt-pits and lead-mines this is possibly Henbury.

432. Grant by Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians, to Heaberht, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Huiccewude. A.D. 841.

452. Grant by king Berchtwulf to the Thegn Forthred of land at Wudotune. A.D. 848 or later.

453. Grant by Beorhtwulf, king of the Mercians, of land at Quinton to Evesham. A.D. 840 for 848, or later.

466. Grant by Beortulf, king of the Mercians, of land at Calmsden, in North Cerney, to Prince Elpheus. A.D. 852.

482. Grant by Beorhtulf, king of the Mercians, of land at Willersey to Evesham. Circa A.D. 850.

487. Grant by Burgred, king of the Mercians, of land at Ablington, Poulton, Barnsley, and Eisey to Alhun, Bishop of Worcester. A.D. 855.

503. Witenagemot at Wellesburne (Kineton). Grant by Burhred, king of the Mercians, of immunities to St. Peter's at Gloucester. A.D. 862.

535. Confirmation by Burhred, king of the Mercians, of the estates of St. Peter's at Gloucester. A.D. 872.

551. Settlement of the dispute concerning Stoke Bishop between the Minsters at Worcester and Berkeley. A.D. 883.

559. Grant by the family at Worcester to Bishop Werfryth of land at Alchmundingtuun. A.D. 889. The land had belonged to the Monastery at Cleeve.

560. Grant by Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, to Cyneswith of land at Alhmundingtune. A.D. 889. This is part of the land mentioned in 559.

574. Witenagemot at Gloucester. Settlement of the dispute concerning Woodchester. A.D. 896.

580. Grant by Werefrith, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Ablington to the priest Werwulf for two lives. A.D. 899.

582. Settlement of the dispute concerning Sodbury. A.D. 888.

609. Grant by Werfrid, Bishop of Worcester, to Wulfsige, his reeve, of land at Aston. A.D. 904. Probably Cold Aston.

636. Grant by Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Clifford Chambers to the Monastery at Worcester. A.D. 922.

665. Grant by king Æthelstan of land at Aust to St. Mary's Monastery at Worcester. A.D. 929.

667. Grant by king Æthelstan of land at Dumbleton to Abbot Cynath (of Evesham ?). A.D. 930, with later confirmation by King Edgar.

668. Boundaries of Dumbleton.

821. Grant by king Eadred of land at "Hanecan ham" to the thegn Eadmud. A.D. 947. The identification with Hanham is very doubtful.

882, Grant by king Eadred of land at Bourton-on-the-Water and Maugersbury to Wulfric "Miles." A.D. 949.

887. Grant by king Eadred of land at Pucklechurch to Glastonbury. A.D. 950.

927. Grant by king Ædwie of land at Tidenham to Wulfgar, Abbot of Bath. A.D. 956.

928. Survey and customs of Tidenham.

929. Lease of Tidenham by the Convent of Bath to Archbishop Stigand for his life. A.D. 1061-1065.

936. Grant by king Eadwig of land at Olveston and Cold Ashton to St. Peter's at Bath, which Æthelstan had formerly given, but which had been stolen. A.D. 955-959.

1089. Grant by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Compton (Grenefield) to Ealhferth. A D. 962.

1090. Another form of preceding Charter.

1091. Grant for life of land at Cungle (Bibury) to Alfwold. A.D. 962.

1105. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Heortford to the thegn Ethelnoth. A.D. 963. Harford near Bourton-on-the-Water.

1181. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Clifford Chambers to his thegn Wihtelm. A.D. 966.

1201. Grant by King Edgar of land at Bickmarsh to his thegn Brihtnoth, no doubt the hero of Maldon; with assignment by Brihtnoth to Archbishop Oswald. Grant A.D. 967. Assignment after A.D. 972.

1202. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Stoke Bishop to the thegn Eadmær. A.D. 967.

1203. Another form of preceding Grant.

1206. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Itchington to the thegn Athelmær. A.D. 967.

1207. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Itchington to his thegn Wulfgar. A.D. 967.

1236. Lease for three lives by Bishop Oswald of land at Stoke Bishop to the thegn Æthelweard. A.D. 969.

1239. Lease for three lives by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, of land at Saperetun to his thegn Eadric. A.D. 969.

1257. This is called a grant of king Eadgar to St. Peter's Church, Bath, of land at Clifton, near Bristol, in exchange for land at Compton Grenefield. A.D. 970. As mention is made in the land-boundaries of the Fosse and the Wansdyke, the land granted lay no doubt at Twerton, near Bath. It is not likely that Compton Grenefield, rated in Domesday at 3½ hides, contained 10 cassates; the manor is no doubt one of the many Somerset Comptons, possibly Compton Martin, the two manors of which had a combined rating in Domesday of 10 hides.

1282. Grant by king Eadgar of privileges, and confirmation of lands to Pershore. A D. 972.

1320. Calendar of lands granted to Worcester.

Æthelric bequeathed Westbury and Stoke to Worcester, and king Offa booked it first to Æthelmund, father of Æthelric, and again Offa booked to Worcester both Westbury and Stoke lx hides and Henbury xx hides, and Tetbury.

King Burhred booked Bibury to Worcester. That is, at Colne x hides, and at Poulton viii, and at Barnsley v, and at Eisey v.

Bishop Deneberht leased viii hides at Colesburn to Balthun.

These entries are extracts from Cotton MS. Nero EI, which Kemble assigns to about A.D. 1000.

THE REGISTER OF JOHN DE GRANDISSON, BISHOP OF EXETER (A.D. 1327–1369). Part I., 1327-1330. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE EPISCOPATE OF JAMES DE BERKELEY (A.D. 1327). By the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, M.A., Rector of Ringmore and Prebendary of Exeter. London: George Bell & Sons. Exeter: Henry S. Eland.

PREBENDARY HINGESTON-RANDOLPH has given another instalment of the excellent service which he is rendering to the Cathedral Church of which he is a member, and to all students of English Church history, by the publication of the present volume.

It consists in the first place of documents relating to the brief episcopate of James de Berkeley, who was consecrated to the Bishopric of Exeter on Mid-Lent Sunday, March 22, 1327, and who died on June 24 in the same year. As no records of his episcopate exist in the registers at Exeter, these documents are taken in the first place from the Register of the Acts of Adam de Murimuth, to whom the care of the See was committed during the vacancies which preceded and followed the episcopate of Bishop Berkeley, which is preserved in the Register of Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, and then from the Patent Rolls and other sources of information. By far the larger part of the book, however, is occupied with the register of that good and able prelate John de Grandisson, who held the See of Exeter for forty-two years, and to whom the Cathedral at Exeter and the beautiful church at Ottery owe so much.

To us in Gloucestershire the book has a special interest, because both the Bishops with whom it is concerned were Gloucestershire men. James de Berkeley was the son of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1321, and was therefore the uncle of that Lord Thomas who held Berkeley Castle in 1327 at the time of the murder of Edward II. As Lord Thomas the younger was an opponent of the Despensers, no doubt James de Berkeley owed his promotion to the influence of Queen Isabella, who had landed in Suffolk on September 24, 1326, to avenge the death of the Earl of Lancaster.

John de Grandisson was the second son of William de Grandisson, lord of Dimoch and Pauntley, who died on June 27, 1335. Several of the bishop's letters written soon after his appointment to the See are dated at Oxenhall. William de Grandisson was succeeded in the estates by his eldest son Peter, who died in 1358; the Bishop then held them till his death in 1369, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Thomas Grandisson, who died without issue in 1375.

At the end of 1326 and the beginning of 1327, the Diocese of Exeter was headless both in matters of Church and State.

As we have seen, the queen landed in Suffolk on September 24, and the king fled at once, first to Gloucester, then to Wales with intent to escape to Ireland; but as the attempt failed, he took refuge at Neath Abbey, and there offered to treat with the queen. She, passing through Oxford, Gloucester, and Berkeley, reached Bristol on October 26, where the elder Hugh le Despenser was hanged, and Prince Edward was proclaimed

guardian of the realm. On November 16 the king was captured, and was placed in confinement at Kenilworth. The See of Exeter was already vacant, for Bishop Walter de Stapledon had been slain by the citizens of London on October 15; and on November 27 the Chapter lost its head by the death of Bartholomew de Sanctio Laurento, who had been appointed to the Deanery in 1311.

Richard de Coletone succeeded to the Deanery; the date of his election is unknown, but it must have been before August 21, 1327, when John de Grandisson, then Bishop-elect of Exeter, addressed a letter to the Dean and Chapter.

On the Vigil of St. Katharine, November 24, Pope John XXII., in accordance with his usual practice, announced in his Consistory at Avignon that he reserved to himself the appointment to the vacant See. On the Vigil of St. Nicholas, December 5, the Chapter unanimously elected James de Berkeley as their Bishop, and on the morrow wrote a letter to the king, of which the Bishop-elect was the bearer, asking his assent to the election. As the Berkeleys were adherents of the queen, the election can hardly have been pleasing to King Edward, but he was not a free agent, being simply a prisoner at Kenilworth; on December 12, therefore, he gave the royal assent, and on the 18th he wrote to the Pope asking him to ratify the election. No doubt all this was done under pressure from the queen's party; and it is rather strange that Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph does not notice that this was so

On January 7, 1327, the Parliament met, and on the following day Prince Edward was proclaimed as king by the name of Edward III.; and on January 20 his father resigned his sovereignty. He survived his deposition only eight months, being murdered in Berkeley Castle on September 21, three months after the death of Bishop Berkeley.

On January 8 also Edward II. wrote to his Escheator in the south-western shires informing him that the Archbishop had confirmed the election of James de Berkeley, and commanding him to restore the temporalities. As Bishop Berkeley was a nominee of the queen, the deposition of Edward II. did not affect his position in England; and as probably Pope John XXII. had no desire to offend the victorious party, he exercised his reservation in favour of the Bishop-elect, who was accordingly consecrated in due course on Mid-Lent Sunday in Canterbury Cathedral.

But Pope John XXII. was not a man to allow his reservations to be set aside or compromised. When, therefore, on the death of Bishop Berkeley King Edward III. nominated Thomas de Cherletone, Archdeacon of Wells and Northumberland and his treasurer, and wrote on July 1 acknowledging the Pope's right of reservation, and asking him to exercise it in favour of his nominee; and when the Dean and Chapter, having obtained the king's licence on July 5, proceeded to elect John de Godeleghe, Canon of Exeter and Dean of Wells, and wrote to the Pope on September 16 asking him to confirm their election; the Pope approved neither candidate, but appointed a nominee of his own.

Thomas de Cherletone, who was a capable man, he promoted to the See of Hereford; John de Godeleghe, who was an aged man quite unfit

to undertake the charge of so great a diocese, he passed over altogether; and he appointed John de Grandisson, who as we have seen was an Englishman, who had been appointed Archdeacon of Nottingham on October 12, 1310, and who proved to be a most able and energetic Bishop. It cannot be denied that in this matter the Pope acted both wisely and well. He avoided a contest with the king by appointing his nominee to another diocese; he saved the Church in Devon and Cornwall from the evil consequences that must have followed on the unfortunate choice of the Exeter Chapter; and he made a most excellent appointment. No time was lost in filling up the vacant Sees, and on the Feast of St. Luke, October 18, the Bishops of Exeter and Hereford were consecrated at Avignon.

On November 9 the new Bishop of Exeter was still at Avignon, occupied with the business of the Papal Court; by February 6, 1328, he had arrived at Canterbury, and he spent Easter (April 3) at his father's house at Oxenhall. From that place he wrote to the Dean and Chapter asking them to delay the sale of the mitre and staff and other ecclesiastical ornaments of his predecessor, Walter de Stapledon, that he might have an opportunity of purchasing them. He had intended to be at Clyst, near Exeter, within three weeks of Easter, but May 3 found him at Heyford, in Northamptonshire, and on June 5 he was at Shaftesbury. By June 12, however, he had reached Clyst, and the work of his long Episcopate of forty-two years had begun; none too soon, for the See had been practically vacant since the murder of Bishop Walter de Stapledon, twenty months before.

The Bishop detailed his woes in a letter to the Pope. He had been enthroned on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, but the Archdeacon of Canterbury had claimed to perform the office, on which account he had appealed to the Holy See against the claim. Then he had started on a visitation tour of the diocese, extending even to the Scilly Isles, which none of his predecessors had ever visited in person; and had found the episcopal manors in a condition of waste: the land untilled and unsown, and lacking proper stock for cultivation. But he hoped in time to pay what was due to the Papal Court. Yet even while he was engaged in his visitation he had been worried by various uncanonical though customary inhibitions from the Metropolitan Court of Canterbury, which he hoped his Holiness would restrain. The Abbot of Tavistock, by his disregard of religion, his ill-treatment of his monks, and his offensive conduct to his neighbours, was giving much trouble, and was likely to come to a bad end. Finally, his cathedral, which was half finished, and the high altar of which he had consecrated, and which would, if it were completed, excel in beauty all other churches of that sort in England or France, must on account of its exceeding costliness remain long unfinished. How the good Bishop set himself to bring order out of chaos is told in the pages of his register.

He was no respecter of persons. On pages 195-6 there is a high and mighty scolding addressed to one who is warned that though he might hide his malice and hatred against the Bishop with the cunning of a fox and the twistings of a serpent, yet it was now apparent. And if the person addressed should so abuse the authority of the Metropolitan Court as to

attempt to coerce the writer with inhibitions, then he would appeal to the Pope. From this allusion and the references "non tam meretricias dico quam lenocinias appellationes" "nec terrere nos vane vel muliebriter credat ipsa," it is evident that the person to whom this wigging was administered was the Archbishop of Canterbury, the forms of whose court, it appears from other letters, were being used to the annoyance of the Bishop by Isabella de Suttone, the paramour of Sir John Dynham. The letter was probably written in January, 1329; and there are two other letters relating to the evil deeds of Sir John Dynham, bearing date June 16, and August 22, 1329. There is also, on pages 269-271, a very vigorous and amusing remonstrance with Adam de Murymuth, Precentor of Exeter, on his absence from the cathedral.

But the Bishop had also lesser troubles. On October 15, 1330, he writes that he is credibly informed, to his great displeasure, that the vicars choral and other servants of the cathedral are guilty of much bad behaviour, such as playing, joking, laughing, during divine service; and to mention one matter out of many, that those who stand in the higher stalls at Matins, and have control of the candles, purposely and needlessly, and with intent to excite ridicule, throw the gutterings and snuffs of the candles on the head or hair of those who stand below; which conduct, as the good Bishop remarks, human nature being what it is, is likely to stir up hatred and strifes. Moreover, he says, some from ignorance, others who ought to know better, in the hearing of many, break out into words of imprecation or derision in the vulgar tongue during the chanting or reading. Also, some, he says, whose minds are in the street or market-place, though their bodies are in church, hurry the service disgracefully, lead others astray, and call out to the precentor or others, in a loud voice in English, to be quick. Altogether, it is evident that the choir of Exeter Cathedral was not what it ought to have been. After this it is not surprising to find that in 1339 the choir boys at Ottery had waxed troublesome. But the Bishop had a short and sharp remedy for them; because the whacking which he had ordered in his primary statutes did not suffice to keep them from offending, they must be fined as well as whacked. Many a parish priest, and possibly sometimes even a precentor, will sympathise with the Bishop in such troubles as these. And so the register goes on, passing "From grave to gay, from lively to severe," giving a wonderfully vivid picture of the life of the diocese five centuries and a half ago.

There are frequent licences of leave of absence for study "in loco ubi Universitas vel studium viget generale in Anglia seu partibus transmarinis," or sometimes only to study at Oxford or elsewhere in England; and we find Bishop Grandisson commending his nephew John de Northwode, and his guardian Richard Fitz Ralph, to the care of some one high in authority in the University of Paris, who is supposed by Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph to have been James Fournier, afterwards Pope Benedict XII. One of Bishop Grandisson's earliest letters is addressed to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and other letters are found relating to the appropriation of the church of West Wittenham, in Berkshire, to the use of the scholars of Stapildon Hall, now Exeter College; as well

as a letter of remonstrance, dated August 28, 1329, to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, because they withheld profits of the church of St. Wynner, in Cornwall, which had been assigned to the support of the said scholars.

A most interesting letter is given on page 585, dated October 13, 1330, and addressed to the Archdeacon of Cornwall, which ought to commend the memory of Bishop Grandisson to every antiquarian. He says that it is certain that in the diocese, and especially in Cornwall, holy men lived of old who adorned Holy Mother Church with their virtues and miracles, and stirred up the minds of the faithful to the love of God, and in memory of whom churches were founded, yet whose legends and lives are now by the fault of priests and people alike lost, and can nowhere else be found. Therefore, he strictly commands rectors, vicars, and parishioners of places where churches are built in the names of saints unknown elsewhere, that within the space of a year "hujusmodi sanctorum in Ecclesiis suis vitam, vel propriam si habeant legendam, duplicari faciant, vel triplicari." Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph takes this to mean that two or three copies of the lives and legends were to be made; but might it not equally well mean that the lives and legends were to be represented on the walls of the churches? as Canon II. of the Council of Celchyth, A.D. 816, runs: "Præcipimus unicuique Episcopo, ut sciat depictum in pariete Oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam, in Altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata." No doubt this letter was a consequence of the Bishop's visitation of Cornwall soon after his consecration. Though none of these lives are now extant, and William of Malmesbury says with regard to St. Rumon that nothing was even then known of him or others like him but the bare names; yet Leland quotes the lives of St. Ia and other Cornish saints, so that the histories of some, at any rate, of them survived two centuries after the time of Bishop Grandisson.

There is also a letter (page 214) from the Bishop desiring the Archdeacon of Sarum to lend him *Librum Pontificalem Antiquum et Veracem* that he might have a copy made of it, and observe the use of Sarum at Exeter, because Walter de Stapledon's books had been destroyed when he was murdered.

There are also inserted in the pages of the register various documents of great interest, such as the sentence and manner of degradation of an heretical priest (page 151); the Constitution of Pope Benedict XII., declaring the true doctrine of the Beatific Vision, concerning which his predecessor, John XXII., had erred (page 142); a list of the prelates of the diocese summoned to the Council of London in February, 1329 (page 447); lists of the Cardinals at two different dates in 1328 and 1344 (pages 414 and 415); and a record of the visitation of the churches and manors of the Dean and Chapter, which gives a very full account of the ornaments of the churches, and the buildings and implements of the farms, among which the "pressorium" or cider-mill with its "pila" or trough is frequently mentioned. Among other points of interest it is mentioned that at Colyton the curfew was rung, and though the vicar was a leper, he performed divine service publicly, which was a scandal (pages 570 to 579); and, finally,

there is a series of documents relating to the foundation of the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary (pages 117 to 137).

Though the register is, of course, principally of importance to the people of Devon and Cornwall, no doubt, *mutatis nominibus*, it gives a very fair picture of life viewed from an ecclesiastical point of view in the hill-country and vale of Gloucestershire early in the fourteenth century.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES. Vol. VI. Part 1. Jan.—Mar., 1894. London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co. Bristol: WM. GEORGE'S SONS, and J. FAWN & SON.

THE number opens with a short illustrated paper on Kingscote Church; it contains the wills of James, Thomas, and John Poulton, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and also seven seventeenth century deeds of inhabitants of Frampton-on-Severn and Slymbridge. The pedigree of the family of Clutterbuck, of Peck Street, King's Stanley, is brought down to the present time; and notes are given of the proceedings under the Divided Parishes Act with regard to Miserden, Avening, Leonard Stanley, and Pitchcombe. Illustrations are given of the brass of Thomas Lord Berkeley, d.: 1417, in Wotton-under-Edge Church, and of some short notes on merchants' marks preserved in Bristol and Gloucestershire. It is very much to be wished that the study of these marks could be systematically taken up; there must be a large number of them preserved in old glass or on seals, especially in the cloth-working districts of the shire, and they are well worth preserving. The number closes with a copy of the marriage register at King's Stanley from 1573 to 1642, and an index, which appears to be very complete, of the matters dealt with in volume v.

J. W. Arrowsmith, Printer, Quay Street, Bristol.

Forms of Schedule prepared by a Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed to Organise an Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom.

Members of the Committee.

Francis Galton, F.R.S., J. G. Garson, M.D., and E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A. (Chairman), representing the Anthropological Institute.

Edward Clodd, G. L. Gomme, F.S.A., and Joseph Jacobs, M.A., representing the Folklore Society.

G. W. G. Leveson Gower, V.P.S.A., George Payne, F.S.A., and General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., representing the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Sir C. M. Kennedy, C.B., K.C.M.G., and E. G. Ravenstein, representing the Royal Statistical Society.

A Member representing the Dialect Society.

Dr. J. Beddoe, F.R.S.; Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A.; Sir H. H. Howorth, F.R.S.; Professor R. Meldola, F.R.S.

John Rhys, M.A., Jesus Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, and also Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., Edward Laws, the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, F.S.A., S. W. Williams, F.S.A., and J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot. (Secretary), representing the Cambrian Archæological Society, and forming a Sub-Committee for Wales.

Joseph Anderson, LL.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Professor D. J. Cunningham, F.R.S., C. R. Browne, M.D., and Professor A. C. Haddon, M.A., representing the Royal Irish Academy, and forming a Sub-Committee for Ireland (Prof. Haddon, Secretary).

E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A., Secretary.

This Committee has already made two preliminary reports to the Association, in which the names of 367 villages or places in various parts of the United Kingdom have been indicated as especially to deserve ethnographic study. The list, large as it is, is not exhaustive. For these and such other villages and places as may appear to be suitable, the Committee propose to record—

(1) Physical types of the inhabitants;
(2) Current traditions and beliefs;
(3) Peculiarities of dialect;
(4) Monuments and other remains of ancient culture; and
(5) Historical evidence as to continuity of race.

*** All communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the Ethnographic Survey, British Association, Burlington House, London, W.'

The most generally convenient method of organising a simultaneous inquiry under these five heads appears to be the appointment of a sub-committee in each place, one or more members of which would be prepared to undertake each head of the inquiry. For the ancient remains advantage should be taken of the work of the Archæological Survey where it is in operation. The general plan of the Committee is discussed in an article, On the Organisation of local Anthropological Research, in the 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute' of February 1893.

For the use of inquirers copies on foolscap paper of the Forms of Schedule have been prepared, giving a separate page or pages of foolscap for each head of the inquiries, on which are the questions and hints prepared by the Committee, the lower portion of each page, to which should be added as many separate sheets of foolscap as may be required, being left for answers; and, with regard to the physical observations, a single page of foolscap has been set aside for the measurements of each individual to be observed. The requisite number of copies of the foolscap edition of the schedules and of extra copies of the form for the persons to be photographed and measured will be supplied on application.

Communications should all be written on foolscap paper, and the writing should be on one side only of the page, and a margin of about one inch on the left-hand side of the page should be left, with a view to future binding.

Directions for Measurement.

Instrument required for these measurements:—The 'Traveller's Anthropometer,' manufactured by Aston & Mander, 25 Old Compton Street, London, W.C.; price 3*l.* 3*s.* complete; without 2-metre steel measuring tape and box footpiece, 2*l.* 10*s.* With this instrument all the measurements can be taken. In a permanent laboratory it will be found convenient to have a fixed graduated standard for measuring the height, or a scale affixed to a wall. For field work a tape measure may be temporarily suspended to a rigid vertical support, with the zero just touching the ground or floor.

A 2-metre tape, a pair of folding callipers, a folding square, all of which are graduated in millimetres, and a small set-square can be obtained from Aston & Mander for 1*l.* 6*s.*: with this small equipment all the necessary measurements can be taken.

Height Standing.—The subject should stand perfectly upright, with his back to the standard or fixed tape, and his eyes directed horizontally forwards. Care should be taken that the standard or support for the tape is vertical. The stature may be measured by placing the person with his back against a wall to which a metre scale has been affixed. The height is determined by placing a carpenter's square or a large set-square against the support in such a manner that the lower edge is at right angles to the scale; the square should be placed well above the head, and then brought down till its lower edge feels the resistance of the top of the head. The observer should be careful that the height is taken in the middle line of the head. If the subject should object to take off his boots, measure the thickness of the boot-heel, and deduct it from stature indicated in boots.

Height Sitting.—For this the subject should be seated on a low stool or bench, having behind it a graduated rod or tape with its zero level with the seat; he should sit perfectly erect, with his back well in against the scale. Then proceed as in measuring the height standing. The square should be employed here also if the tape against a wall is used.

Length of Cranium.—Measured with callipers from the most prominent part of the projection between the eyebrows (glabella) to the most distant point at the back of the head in the *middle line*. Care should be taken to keep the end of the callipers steady on the glabella by holding it there with the fingers, while the other extremity is searching for the maximum projection of the head behind.

Breadth of Cranium.—The maximum breadth of head, which is usually about the level of the *top* of the ears, is measured at right angles to the length. Care must be taken to hold the instrument so that both its points are exactly on the same horizontal level.

Face Length.—This is measured from the slight furrow which marks the root of the nose, and which is about the level of a line drawn from the centre of the pupil of one eye to that of the other, to the under part of the chin. Should there be two furrows, as is often the case, measure from between them.

Upper Face Length.—From root of nose to the interval between the two central front teeth at their roots.

Face Breadth.—Maximum breadth of face between the bony projections in front of the ears.

Inter-ocular Breadth.—Width between the internal angles of the eyes. While this is being measured the subject should shut his eyes.

Bigonial Breadth.—Breadth of face at the outer surface of the angles of the *lower* jaw below the ears.

Nose Length.—From the furrow at root of nose to the angle between the nose and the upper lip in the middle line.

Breadth of Nose.—Measured horizontally across the nostrils at the widest part, but without compressing the nostrils.

Height of Head.—The head should be so held that the eyes look straight forward to a point at the same level as themselves—*i.e.*, the plane of vision should be exactly horizontal. The rod of the Anthropometer should be held vertically in front of the face of the subject, and the upper straight arm should be extended as far as possible and placed along the middle line of the head; the shorter lower arm should be pushed up to the lower surface of the chin. When measured with the square the depending bar must be held vertically in front of the face (with the assistance of the spirit-level or plumb-line), and the small set-square passed up this arm from below in such a manner that its horizontal upper edge will come into contact with the lower contour of the chin. The distance between the lower edge of the horizontal bar of the square and the upper edge of the set-square can be read off, and this will be the maximum height of the head.

Height of Cranium.—The head being held in precisely the same manner as in measuring the height of the head, the instrument is rotated to the left side of the head, its upper bar still resting on the crown, and the recording arm (or the set-square) is pointed to the centre of the line of attachment of the small projecting cartilage in front of the ear-hole.

Note.—It is essential that these rules should be strictly followed in order to secure accuracy. All measurements must be made in millimetres. If possible, the subject's weight should be obtained, and recorded in the place set apart for remarks. The observer is recommended to procure 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' 2nd edition, from the Anthropological Institute, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.; net price, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Place _____ *Name of Observer* _____

Physical Types of the Inhabitants.

Number	Date of Measurement	Surname	Christian Name	Age	Sex	Town or Village	County

SURNAMES	SURNAME of your Father	SURNAME of your Mother before she was married	What district do your Parents' people come from? Your Father's?	Your Mother's?

Have your Father's people occupied that part of the country for long? if not, state what you know of their original locality

Occupation

GENERAL CONDITION: (1) stout; (2) medium; (3) thin.

Photograph number.
(N.B.—The photograph of the person measured should be sent along with this schedule.)

SKIN: (1) pale; (2) ruddy; (3) dark.

Freckled (?).

HAIR: (R) red; (F) fair; (B) brown; (D) dark; (N) black.

(1) straight; (2) wavy; (3) curly.

COLOUR OF BEARD: (R); (F); (B); (D); (N).

EYES: (1) blue; (2) light grey; (3) dark grey; (4) green; (5) light brown; (6) dark brown.

SHAPE OF FACE: (1) long and narrow; (2) medium; (3) short and broad.
(*a*) cheek-bones inconspicuous; (*b*) cheek-bones prominent.

PROFILE OF NOSE: Compare with outline figures at foot, and give the number with which the nose under examination most closely corresponds.

LIPS: (1) thin; (2) medium; (3) thick.

EARS: (A) Flat; (B) out-standing; (*a*) coarse; (*b*) finely moulded.

LOBES OF EARS: (1) absent; (2) present; (*a*) attached; (*b*) detached.

Standing	Sitting	Length	Breadth	Length	Upper Face Length	Breadth	Inter-ocular Breadth	Bigonial Breadth

Nose		Height of Head	Height of Cranium
Length	Breadth		

Remarks

Fig 1.

Fig 2.

Fig 3.

Fig 4.

Fig 5.

Physical Types of the Inhabitants—(continued).

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.

Facial characteristics are conveniently recorded by means of photographs, taken in the three ways explained below. Amateurs in photography are now so numerous that it is hoped the desired materials may be abundantly supplied. At least twelve more or less beardless male adults and twelve female adults should be photographed. It will add much to the value of the portrait if these same persons have also been measured. The photographs should be mounted on cards, each card bearing the name of the district, and a letter or number to distinguish the individual portraits; the cards to be secured together by a thread passing loosely through a hole in each of their upper left-hand corners. Three sorts of portrait are wanted, as follows:—

(*a*) A few portraits of such persons as may, in the opinion of the person who sends them, best convey the peculiar characteristics of the race. These may be taken in whatever aspect shall best display those characteristics, and should be accompanied by a note directing attention to them.

(*b*) At least twelve portraits of the *left* side of the face of as many different adults of the same sex. These must show in each case the *exact* profile, and the hair should be so arranged as fully to show the ear. All the persons should occupy in turn the same chair (with movable blocks on the seat, to raise the sitters' heads to a uniform height), the camera being fixed throughout in the same place. The portraits to be on such a scale that the distance between the top of the head and the bottom of the chin shall in no case be less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Smaller portraits can hardly be utilised in any way. If the incidence of the light be not the same in all cases they cannot be used to make composite portraits. By attending to the following hints the successive sitters may be made to occupy so nearly the same position that the camera need hardly be refocussed. In regulating the height of the head it is tedious and clumsy to arrange the proper blocks on the seat by trial. The simpler plan is to make the sitter first take his place on a separate seat with its back to the wall, having previously marked on the wall, at heights corresponding to those of the various heights of head, the numbers of the blocks that should be used in each case. The appropriate number for the sitter is noted, and the proper blocks are placed on the chair with the assurance that what was wanted has been correctly done. The distance of the sitter from the camera can be adjusted with much precision by fixing a looking-glass in the wall (say five feet from his chair), so that he can see the reflection of his face in it. The backward or forward position of the sitter is easily controlled by the operator, if he looks at the sitter's head over the middle of the camera, against a mark on the wall beyond. It would be a considerable aid in making measurements of the features of the portrait, and preventing the possibility of mistaking the district of which the sitter is a representative, if a board be fixed above his head *in the plane of his profile*, on which a scale of inches is very legibly marked, and the name of the district written. This board should be so placed as just to fall within the photographic plate. The background should be of a medium tint (say a sheet of light brown paper pinned against the wall

beyond), very dark and very light tints being both unsuitable for composite photography.

(*c*) The same persons who were taken in side-face should be subsequently photographed in *strictly* full face. They should occupy a different chair, the place of camera being changed in accordance. Time will be greatly saved if all the side-faces are taken first, and then all the full faces; unless, indeed, there happen to be two operators, each with his own camera, ready to take the same persons in turn. The remarks just made in respect to (*b*) are, in principle, more or less applicable to the present case; but the previous method of insuring a uniform distance between the sitter and the camera ceases to be appropriate.

It is proposed that composites of some of these groups shall be taken by Mr. Galton, so far as his time allows.

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*Place*_____ *Name of Observer*_____

2. *Current Traditions and Beliefs.*

Folklore.

Every item of folklore should be collected, consisting of customs, traditions, superstitions, sayings of the people, games, and any superstitions connected with special days, marriages, births, deaths, cultivation of the land, election of local officers, or other events. Each item should be written legibly on a separate piece of paper, and the name, occupation, and age of the person from whom the information is obtained should in all cases be carefully recorded. If a custom or tradition relates to a particular place or object, especially if it relates to a curious natural feature of the district, or to an ancient monument or camp, some information should be given about such place or monument. Sometimes a custom, tradition, or superstition may relate to a particular family or group of persons, and not generally to the whole population; and in this case care should be exercised in giving necessary particulars. Any objects which are used for local ceremonies, such as masks, ribbons, coloured dresses, &c., should be described accurately, and, if possible, photographed; or might be forwarded to London, either for permanent location, or to be drawn or photographed. Any superstitions that are believed at one place and professedly disbelieved at another, or the exact opposite believed, should be most carefully noted.

The following questions are examples of the kind and direction of the inquiries to be made, *and are not intended to confine the inquirer to the special subjects referred to in them, or to limit the replies to categorical answers.* The numbers within brackets refer to the corresponding articles in the 'Handbook of Folklore' (published by Nutt, 270 Strand, London), which may be consulted for advice as to the mode of collecting and the cautions to be observed.

(4) Relate any tradition as to the origin of mountains or as to giants being entombed therein.

Are there any traditions about giants or dwarfs in the district? Relate them.

Is there a story about a Blinded Giant like that of Polyphemus?

(13) Describe any ceremonies performed at certain times in connection with mountains.
(16) Relate any traditions or beliefs about caves.
(19) Are any customs performed on islands not usually inhabited? Are they used as burial places?
(25) Describe any practices of leaving small objects, articles of dress, &c., at wells.
(29) Are there spirits of rivers or streams? Give their names.
(32) Describe any practices of casting small objects, articles of dress, &c., in the rivers.
(33) Are running waters supposed not to allow criminals or evil spirits to cross them?
(39) Describe any customs at the choosing of a site for building, and relate any traditions as to the site or erection of any building.
(42) Is there a practice of sprinkling foundations with the blood of animals, a bull, or a cock?
(43) Does the building of a house cause the death of the builder?
(48, 49, 50) Relate any traditions of the sun, moon, stars.
(62) Describe the customs of fishermen at launching their boats.
(63) Give any omens believed in by fishermen.
(66) Is it unlucky to assist a drowning person?
(84) What ceremonies are performed when trees are felled?
(85) Describe any custom of placing rags and other small objects upon bushes or trees.
(86) Describe any maypole customs and dances.
(87) Describe any customs of wassailing of fruit trees.
(90) Are split trees used in divination or for the cure of disease?
(98) Describe any ceremonies used for love divination with plants or trees.
(105) Describe the garlands made and used at ceremonies.
(110) What animals are considered lucky and what unlucky to meet, come in contact with, or kill?
(132) Describe any customs in which animals are sacrificed, or driven away from house or village.
(133) Describe customs in which men dress up as animals.
(137) Give the names of the local demons, fairies, pixies, ghosts, &c. Have any of them personal proper names?
(139) Their habits, whether gregarious or solitary. Do they use special implements?
(140) Form and appearance, if beautiful or hideous, small in stature, different at different times.
(144) Character, if merry, mischievous, sulky, spiteful, industrious, stupid, easily outwitted.
(145) Occupations, music, dancing, helping mankind, carrying on mining, agricultural work.
(146) Haunts or habitations, if human dwellings, mounds, barrows, mines, forests, boggy moorlands, waters, the underworld, dolmens, stone circles.
(190) Give the details of any practices connected with the worship of the local saint.
(191) Are sacrifices or offerings made to the local saint; on what days; and when?

(192) What is the shrine of the local saint?
(210) Witchcraft. Describe minutely the ceremonies performed by the witch. What preliminary ceremony took place to protect the witch?
(294) Are charms used to find evil spirits and prevent their moving away?
(295) Are amulets, talismans, written bits of paper, gestures, &c., used to avert evil or to ensure good? If so, how; when; where?
(297) Are skulls of animals, or horses, or other objects hung up in trees to avert the evil eye and other malign influences?
(298) What methods are employed for divining future events? What omens are believed in?
(353) What superstitions are attached to women's work as such?
(356) Are women ever excluded from any occupation, ceremonies, or places?
(358) What superstitions are attached to the status of widowhood?
(366) Are particular parts of any town or village, or particular sections of any community, entirely occupied in one trade or occupation?
(368) Have they customs and superstitions peculiar to their occupation?
(369) Do they intermarry among themselves, and keep aloof from other people?
(373) Have they any processions or festivals?
(422) What parts of the body are superstitiously regarded?
(432) Are bones, nails, hair, the subject of particular customs or superstitions; and is anything done with bones when accidentally discovered?
(436) Is dressing ever considered as a special ceremonial; are omens drawn from accidents in dressing?
(452) Are any parts of the house considered sacred?
(453) Is the threshold the object of any ceremony; is it adorned with garlands; is it guarded by a horseshoe or other object?
(454) Are any ceremonies performed at the hearth; are the ashes used for divination; is the fire ever kept burning for any continuous period?
(456) Is it unlucky to give fire from the hearth to strangers always, or when?
(467) Is there any ceremony on leaving a house, or on first occupying a house?
(509) What are the chief festivals, and what the lesser festivals observed?
(515) Explain the popular belief in the object of each festival.
(516) Describe the customs and observances appertaining to each festival.
(540) When does the new year popularly begin?

State the superstitions or legends known to attach to—

(*a*) Hallowe'en.
(*b*) May Eve.
(*c*) Midsummer Day, and St. John's Eve.
(*d*) Lammas, or August 1.
(*e*) New Year's Day.
(*f*) Christmas.

} Both old and new styles.

Is there any superstition as to the first person who enters a house in the New Year? Is stress laid upon the colour of complexion and hair?

(567) What are the customs observed at the birth of children?
(588) Describe the ceremonies practised at courtship and marriage.
(623) Describe the ceremonies at death and burial.
(669) Describe any games of ball or any games with string, or other games.
(674) Describe all nursery games of children.
(686) Is there any special rule of succession to property?
(703) Is any stone or group of stones, or any ancient monument or ancient tree connected with local customs?
(706) Are any special parts of the village or town the subject of particular rights, privileges, or disabilities; do these parts bear any particular names?
(711) Describe special local modes of punishment or of lynch law.
(719) Describe special customs observed at ploughing, harrowing, sowing, manuring, haymaking, apple-gathering, corn-harvest, hemp-harvest, flax-harvest, potato-gathering, threshing, flax-picking, and hemp-picking.

The collections under this head will be digested by Professor Rhys and the representatives of the Folklore Society.

Place _____ *Name of Observer* _____

3. *Peculiarities of Dialect.*

Directions to Collectors of Dialect Tests.

1. Do not, if it can be helped, let your informant know the nature of your observations. The true dialect-speaker will not speak his dialect freely or truly unless he is unaware that his utterance is watched. In some cases persons of the middle class can afford correct information, and there is less risk in allowing them to know your purpose.

2. Observe the use of consonants. Note, for example, if *v* and *z* are used where the standard pronunciation has *f* and *s*. This is common in the south.

3. Observe very carefully the nature of the vowels. This requires practice in uttering and appreciating vowel sounds, some knowledge of phonetics, and a good ear.

4. Record all observations in *the same* standard phonetic alphabet, viz., that given in Sweet's 'Primer of Phonetics.' A few modifications in this may be made, viz., *ng* for Sweet's symbol for the sound of *ng* in *thing*; *sh* for his symbol for the *sh* in *she*; *ch* for his symbol for the *ch* in *choose*; *th* for the *th* in *thin*; *dh* for the *th* in *then*. If these modifications are used, say so. But the symbol *j* must only be used for the *y* in *you*, viz., as in German. If the sound of *j* in *just* is meant, Sweet's symbol should be used. On the whole it is far better to use no modifications at all. Sweet's symbols are no more difficult to use than any others after a very brief practice, such as every observer of phonetics must necessarily go through.

5. If you find that you are unable to record sounds according to the above scheme it is better to make *no return at all*. Incorrect returns are misleading in the highest degree, most of all such as are recorded in the ordinary spelling of literary English.

6. The chief vowel-sounds to be tested are those which occur in the following words of English origin, viz., *man*, *hard*, *name*, *help*, *meat* (spelt with *ea*), *green* (spelt with *ee*), *hill*, *wine*, *fire*, *soft*, *hole*, *oak* (spelt with *oa*), *cool*, *sun*, *house*, *day*, *law*, or words involving similar sounds. Also words of French origin, such as *just*, *master* (*a* before *s*), *grant* (*a* before *n*), *try*, *value*, *measure*, *bacon*, *pay*, *chair*, *journey*, *pity*, *beef*, *clear*, *profit*, *boil*, *roast pork*, *false*, *butcher*, *fruit*, *blue*, *pure* *poor*, or words involving similar sounds.

The best account of these sounds as tested for a Yorkshire dialect, is to be found in Wright's 'Dialect of Windhill' (English Dialect Society, 1892), published by Kegan Paul at 12*s.* 6*d.* Sweet's symbols are here employed throughout.

Sweet's 'Primer of Phonetics' is published by the Oxford Press at 3*s.* 6*d.*

A list of test words (of English origin) is given at p. 42 of Skeat's 'Primer of English Etymology,' published by the Oxford Press at 1*s.* 6*d.*

7. The task of collecting words which seem to be peculiarly dialectal (as to form or meaning, or both) has been performed so thoroughly that it is useless to record what has been often already recorded. See, for example, Halliwell's (or Wright's) 'Provincial Glossary' and the publications of the English Dialect Society. In many cases, however, the *pronunciation* of such words has not been noted, and may be carefully set down with great advantage.

The Rev. Professor Skeat has been kind enough to draw up the foregoing directions, and the collections under this head will be submitted to him.

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*Place*_____ *Name of Observer*_____

4. *Monuments and other Remains of Ancient Culture.*

Plot on a map, describe, furnish photographs on sketches, and state the measurements and names (if any) of these, according to the following classification :—

Drift implements. Caves and their contents.
Stone circles. Monoliths. Lake dwellings.
Camps. Enclosures. Collections of hut circles.
Cromlechs. Cairns. Sepulchral chambers.
Barrows, describing the form, and distinguishing those which have not been opened.
Inscribed stones.
Figured stones. Stone crosses.
Castra (walled). Earthen camps.
Foundations of Roman buildings.
Cemeteries (what modes of sepulture).
Burials, inhumation or cremation.
Detailed contents of graves.

Types of fibulæ and other ornaments.

Coins. Implements and weapons, stone, bronze, or iron.

Other antiquities.

A list of place-names within the area. No modern names required.

Special note should be made of British, Roman, and Saxon interments occurring in the same field, and other signs of successive occupation.

Reference should be made to the article 'Archæology' in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' p. 176.

These relate to England only. The sub-committees for other parts of the United Kingdom will prepare modified lists.

The collections under this head will be digested by Mr. Payne.

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*Place*_____ *Name of Observer*_____

5. Historical Evidence as to Continuity of Race.

Mention any historical events connected with the place, especially such as relate to early settlements in it or more recent incursions of alien immigrants.

State the nature of the pursuits and occupations of the inhabitants.

State if any precautions have been taken by the people to keep themselves to themselves; if the old village tenures of land have been preserved.

Has any particular form of religious belief been maintained?

Are the people constitutionally averse to change?

What are the dates of the churches and monastic or other ancient buildings or existing remains of former buildings?

Do existing buildings stand on the sites of older ones?

How far back can particular families or family names be traced?

Can any evidence of this be obtained from the manor rolls; from the parish registers; from the tythingmen's returns; from guild or corporation records?

Are particular family names common?

In what county or local history is the best description of the place to be found?

Evidences of historical continuity of customs, dress, dwellings, implements, &c., should be noted.

The collections under this head will be digested by Mr. Brabrook.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE FOREGOING SCHEDULE.

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A.,

Hon. Secretary of the Committee.

The foregoing is a copy of the schedule prepared by the Ethnographical Survey Committee of the British Association. The object of the Committee is to obtain a collection of authentic information relative to the population of the British Islands, with a view to determine as far as possible the racial elements of which it is composed. The high interest of the enquiry for all archæologists need not be here insisted on. A satisfactory solution of the problems involved will mean the re-writing of much of our early history; and even if we can only gain a partial insight into the real facts it will enable us to correct, or to confirm, many of the guesses in which historians have indulged upon data of a very meagre and often delusive character.

The methods it is proposed to adopt have regard to the physical peculiarities of the inhabitants, their mental idiosyncracies, the material remains of their ancient culture, and their external history. In modern times great movements of population have taken place, the developments of industry and commerce have brought together into large centres natives of all parts of the country, and even foreigners, and thereby caused the mingling of many elements previously

disparate. These have enormously complicated the difficulties of the enquiry. They have rendered many districts unsuitable for every purpose except the record of material remains. Scattered up and down the country, however, there are hamlets and retired places where the population has remained stationary, and affected but little by the currents that have obliterated their neighbours' landmarks. To such districts as these it is proposed to direct attention. Where families have dwelt in the same village from father to son as far back as their ancestry can be traced, where the modes of life have diverged the least from those of ancient days, where pastoral and agricultural occupations have been the mainstay of a scanty folk from time immemorial, where custom and prejudice and superstition have held men bound in chains which all the restlessness of the nineteenth century has not yet completely severed, there we hope still to find sure traces of the past.

The photographic survey, which has been carried out so well at Birmingham and elsewhere, and has been initiated in our own county, will prove a most valuable aid to the wider work of the Ethnographical Survey. Photographs of the material remains of ancient culture are explicitly asked for in the schedule. In addition to them, photographs of typical inhabitants are urgently desired. Some judgment will, of course, require to be exercised in the selection of types, and a considerable amount of tact in inducing the subjects to allow themselves to be taken. It has been found effective for this purpose, as well as for that of measuring the people, that two persons should go out together, and setting up the camera in the village, or wherever they find a convenient spot, *coram populo*, they should then proceed gravely to measure and photograph one another. This will be found to interest the villagers; and some of them will gradually be persuaded to submit to the operation. A little geniality, and sometimes a more tangible gratification of a trifling character, will hardly ever fail in accomplishing the object. The experience of observers who have taken measurements

is that it becomes extremely fascinating work as the collection increases and the results are compared.[1]

This comparison, if the subjects have been selected with judgment, and accurately measured and photographed, should enable us to determine, approximately at all events, in what proportions the blood of the various races which have from time to time invaded and occupied our soil has been transmitted to the present population of different parts of the United Kingdom. From the ancient remains in barrows and other sepulchral monuments, and from the study of the living peoples of Western Europe, the characteristics of the races in question are known with more or less certainty, and every year adds to our information concerning them. A much more complex problem, and one wherein archæologists have a more direct interest, is how far the culture of the races in question has descended to us, and how far it has been affected by intruding arts, faiths and inventions. To solve this, appeal is made first to the historic and pre-historic monuments and other material remains, and secondly, to the traditions of many kinds that linger among the peasantry. Here the first business, and that with which the practical work of the Survey is immediately concerned, is the work of collection. To photograph, sketch, and accurately describe the material remains; to note and report the descriptions and drawings already made, and where they are preserved; to gather and put into handy form the folklore of each country already printed; and to collect from the surviving depositaries of tradition that which may still be found—namely, tales, sayings, customs, medical prescriptions, songs, games, riddles, superstitions, and all those scraps of traditional

[1] The Ethnographical Survey Committee has a few sets of instruments for taking the measurements, which can be placed temporarily at the disposal of the local committee. Perhaps I may here also express the opinion that if the personal photographs and measurements called for expenditure beyond what could be met by local enthusiasm, the Committee might not be indisposed to contribute by way of a small payment for each photograph and set of measurements.

lore stored in rustic memories, impervious and strange to the newer lore of to-day—these are the necessary preliminaries to the study of the civilization of our ancestors.

Archæologists have paid too exclusive attention to the material remains. They have forgotten to enquire what light may be thrown upon them by tradition. By the term Tradition I do not mean simply what the people say about the monuments. Antiquaries soon found out that that was always inaccurate, and often utterly false and misleading. Hence they have been too much inclined to despise all traditions. But Tradition in the wide sense of *the whole body of the lore of the uneducated*, their customs as well as their beliefs, their doings as well as their sayings, has proved, when scientifically studied, of the greatest value for the explanation of much that we must fail to understand in the material remains of antiquity. To take a very simple instance: when we find in Gloucestershire barrows cups or bowls of rough pottery buried with the dead, we call them food-vessels, because we know that it is the custom among savage and barbarous nations to bury food with the dead and to make offerings at the tomb, and that this custom rests on a persuasion that the dead continue to need food and that they will be propitiated by gifts; and we further infer that the races who buried food-vessels with their dead in this country held a similar opinion. Or, to take another burial custom: General Pitt Rivers reported last year to the British Association that he had found in excavations at Cranborne Chase bodies buried without the head. If we were ignorant of the practices of other races we should be at a loss to account for such interments. As it is, we ask ourselves whether these bodies are those of strangers whose heads have been sent back to their own land, or their own tribe, in order to be united in one general cemetery with their own people; or whether the heads were cut off and preserved by their immediate relatives and brought into the circle at their festive gatherings to share the periodical solemnities of the clan. Both these are savage modes of dealing with the dead,

one of which, indeed, left traces in Roman civilization at its highest development. The knowledge of them puts us upon enquiry as to other burials of the prehistoric inhabitants of this country, which may help us in reconstructing their worship and their creed. I for one do not despair of recovering by careful comparison of the relics preserved to us in the ancient monuments with the folklore of the existing peasantry and of races in other parts of the earth, at least the outlines of the beliefs of our remote predecessors.

Any such conclusions, however, must be founded on the essential unity that science has, during the last thirty years, unveiled to us in human thought and human institutions. This unity has disguised itself in forms as diverse as the nationalities of men. And when we have succeeded in piecing together the skeleton of our predecessors' civilization, material and intellectual, we are confronted by the further enquiries: What were the specific distinctions of their culture? and How was it influenced by those of their neighbours or of their conquerors? This is a question only to be determined, if at all, by the examination of the folklore of the country. We may assume that the physical measurements, descriptions, and portraits of the present inhabitants will establish our relationship to some of the peoples whose remains we find beneath our feet. And it will be reasonable to believe that, though there has been a communication from other peoples of their traditions, yet that the broad foundation of our folklore is derived from our forefathers and predecessors in our own land. In Gloucestershire itself we have strong evidence of the persistence of tradition. Bisley Church is said to have been originally intended to be built several miles off, "but the Devil every night removed the stones, and the architect was obliged at last to build it where it now stands." This is, of course, a common tradition. The peculiarity of the case is that at Bisley its meaning has been discovered. The spot where, we are told, "the church ought to have been built was occupied formerly by a Roman villa"; and when the church was restored some years ago "portions of

the materials of that villa were found embedded in the church-walls, including the altars of the Penates, which are now, however, removed to the British Museum."[1] Here, as Sir John Dorington said, addressing this Society some years ago at Stroud, is a tradition which has been handed down for fifteen or sixteen hundred years. This is in our own county, and it may be thought hard to beat such a record. But at Mold, in Flintshire, there is evidence of a tradition which must have been handed down from the prehistoric iron age—that is to say, for more than two thousand years. A cairn stood there, called *Bryn-yr-Ellyllon*, the Hill of the Fairies. It was believed to be haunted; a spectre clad in golden armour had been seen to enter it. That this story was current before the mound was opened is a fact beyond dispute. In 1832 the cairn was explored. Three hundred cartloads of stones were removed, and beneath them was found a skeleton "laid at full length, wearing a corslet of beautifully-wrought gold, which had been placed on a lining of bronze." The corselet in question is of Etruscan workmanship, and is now, I believe, to be seen in the British Museum.[2] Examples like these—and they stand by no means alone—inspire confidence in the permanence of what seems so fleeting and evanescent. Folklore is, in fact, like pottery, the most delicate, the most fragile of human productions; yet it is precisely these productions which prove more durable than solid and substantial fabrics, and outlast the wreck of empires, a witness to the latest posterity of the culture of earlier and ruder times.

But if these traditions have thus been preserved for centuries and even milleniums, they have been modified—nay, transformed—in the process. It is not the bare fact which has been transmitted from generation to generation,

[1] *Gloucestershire N. & Q.*, vol i., p. 390, quoting an article in the *Building News*. See also Sir John Dorington's Presidential Address, *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 7.

[2] Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 431, citing *Archæologia* and *Arch. Cambrensis*.

but the fact seen through the distorting medium of the popular imagination. This is a characteristic of all merely oral records of an actual event; and this it is which everywhere renders tradition, taken literally, so untrustworthy, so misleading a witness to fact. The same law, however, does not apply to every species of tradition. Some species fall within the lines of the popular imagination; and it is then not a distorting but a conservative force. The essential identity of so many stories, customs and superstitions throughout the world is a sufficient proof of this, on which I have no space to dwell. But their essential identity is overlaid with external differences due to local surroundings, racial peculiarities, higher or lower planes of civilization. There is a charming story told in South Wales of a lady who came out of a lake at the foot of one of the Carmarthenshire mountains and married a youth in the neighbourhood, and who afterwards, offended with her husband, quitted his dwelling for ever and returned to her watery abode. In the Shetland Islands the tale is told of a seal which cast its skin and appeared as a woman. A man of the Isle of Unst possessed himself of the seal-skin and thus captured and married her. She lived with him until one day she recovered the skin, resumed her seal-shape and plunged into the sea, nevermore to return. In Croatia the damsel is a wolf whose wolf-skin a soldier steals. In the *Arabian Nights* she is a *jinn* wearing the feather-plumage of a bird, apparently assumed simply for the purpose of flight. In all these cases the variations are produced by causes easily assigned.

The specific distinctions of a nation's culture are not necessarily limited to changes of traditions which it may have borrowed from its neighbours or inherited from a common stock. It may conceivably develop traditions peculiar to itself. This is a subject hardly yet investigated by students of folklore. Their labours have hitherto been chiefly confined to establishing the identity underlying divergent forms of tradition and explaining the meaning of practices and beliefs by comparison of the folklore of distant races at different

stages of evolution. But there are not wanting those who are turning their attention to a province as yet unconquered, and indeed almost undiscovered. Even if they only succeed in establishing a negative, if they show that all traditions supposed to be peculiar have counterparts elsewhere, they will have rendered a signal service to science, and produced incontrovertible testimony of the unity of the human mind and the unintermittent force of the laws which govern it.

Alike for the purpose of ascertaining the specific distinctions of culture and the influences of neighbouring nations and neighbouring civilizations, an accumulation of facts is the prime requisite. If we have reason to believe in the persistence of tradition, we shall have confidence that relics will be discovered in our midst of the faith and institutions of our remoter ancestors; and, in accordance as we venerate antiquity or desire to preserve what remains of the past, we shall hasten to collect them. Nor can we be too quick in so doing. The blood of our forefathers is a permanent inheritance, which it would take many generations and a large intermingling of foreigners seriously to dilute, much less to destroy. But tradition is rapidly dying. It is dwindling away before the influences of modern civilization. Formerly, when the rural districts were isolated, when news travelled slowly and nobody thought of leaving his home save to go to the nearest market, and that not too often, when education did not exist for the peasantry and the landowners had scarcely more than a bowing acquaintance with it, the talk by the fireside on winter evenings was of the business of the day —the tilling, the crops, the kine. Or it was the gossip and small scandals interesting to such a community, or reminiscences by the elders of the past. Thence it would easily glide into tales and superstitions. And we know that these tales and superstitions were, in fact, the staple of conversation among our fathers and generally throughout the West of Europe, to go no further afield, down to a very recent period; and they still are in many districts. In England, however, railways, newspapers, elementary education, politics, and

the industrial movements which have developed during the present century have changed the ancient modes of life; and the old traditions are fading out of memory. The generation that held them is fast passing away. The younger generation has never cared to learn them; though, of course, many of the minor superstitions and sayings have still a considerable measure of power, especially in the shape of folk-medicine and prescriptions for luck. We must make haste, therefore, if we desire to add to the scanty information on record concerning English folklore.

As a starting-point for the collection of Gloucestershire folklore I put together, a year or two ago, the folklore in Atkyns, Rudder, and the first four volumes of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries;* and it was printed by the Folklore Society and issued as a pamphlet[4]. Other works remain to be searched; and it is probable that a good deal more may be found already in print, if some who are interested in the antiquities of the county will undertake the not very arduous, but very necessary, labour of collection. When all is gathered, however, it will only be a small part of what must have existed at no distant date,—if not of what still exists, awaiting diligent enquiry among living men and women. How to set about the enquiry is a question that must be left very much to the individual enquirer to answer. Valuable practical hints are given in the Folklore Society's *Handbook of Folklore*, a small volume that may be bought for half-a-crown and carried in the pocket. Confidence between the collector and those from whom he is seeking information is the prime necessity. Keep your notebook far in the background, and beware of letting the peasant know the object of your curiosity, or even of allowing him to see that you are curious. Above all, avoid leading questions. If you are looking for tales, tell a tale yourself. Do anything to establish a feeling of friendly sympathy. Never laugh at your friend's superstitions,—not even if he

[4] *County Folklore. Printed Extracts—No. 1, Gloucestershire.* London: D. Nutt; Gloucester: Davies & Son, 1892. Price, One Shilling.

laugh at them himself; for he will not open his heart to you if he suspect you of despising them.

There is one other division of the schedule to which I have not yet referred. The Dialect is perishing as rapidly as the folklore; it is being overwhelmed by the same foes. Peculiarities of dialect are due partly to physical, partly to mental, causes. From either point of view they are of interest to the investigator of antiquities. Hence their inclusion among the subjects of the Ethnographical Survey. Nobody who has once understood how much of history is often wrapped up in a single word can fail to perceive the importance of a study of dialect, or how largely it may contribute to the determination of the origin of a given population. The reduction of dialect into writing requires accuracy to distinguish the niceties of pronunciation, and some practice to set them down; but a little experience will overcome most difficulties—which, after all, are not great. It is believed that most of the words—as distinguished from their pronunciation—in use have been recorded in the publications of the English Dialect Society or elsewhere. But it is better to record them again than to leave them unrecorded. Nor should it be forgotten in this connection that a word often bears a different shade of meaning in one place from what it bears in another. In recording any words, care should therefore be taken to seize not only the exact sound, but the exact signification, if it be desired to make a real contribution towards the history of the county, or the history of the language. Of the method of collection and transcription it is needless to add to the directions in the schedule.[1]

[1] In connection with dialect, it may be well to mention a subject referred to in the Schedule under heading No. 4. A list of place-names is there asked for. Among the place-names of the first importance are the old names of fields, commons, and generally of divisions of land and of tenements of all descriptions. The oldest forms of these are to be found in deeds, wills, and court-rolls. By means of them it is possible to obtain much light on ancient modes of cultivation and even of social organization. Examples may be found in the works of Mr. Seebohm and Mr. Gomme.

A local committee of the Survey has been appointed jointly by this Society and the Cotteswold Club, consisting of the following members, viz. :—Mr. M. W. Colchester-Wemyss, Mr. S. S. Buckman, and the late Professor Harker, appointed by the Cotteswold Club ; Dr. Beddoe, Mr. Alfred Pass, and myself, appointed by the Archæological Society. As secretary of that committee, as well as of the general Committee, I shall be gratified to receive offers of help in any department of the work, and shall be happy to forward forms for the purpose on request. In several of the English counties, as well as in Ireland, the matter has been taken up and satisfactory progress has been made. It would be a pity if Gloucestershire—a county rich in materials for investigation—should fail to respond to the invitation, if a county that has played so honourable a part in mediæval and modern history, and has shown itself proud of the relics of that history and anxious to preserve them, should prove indifferent to its more archaic but equally precious remains.

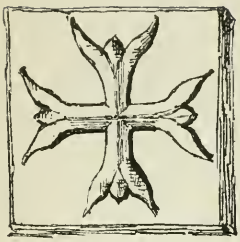
THE CHURCH BELLS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A.

I HAVE been asked to write this paper on the Church Bells of Gloucestershire as a supplement to the late Mr. Ellacombe's well-known book on the subject, and as the advance of the science of Campanology has been so considerable in the past few years, I trust no apology is needed for a further contribution. Mr. Ellacombe's book, which was published in 1882, is doubtless familiar to most members of this Society, if not in itself, at any rate through the medium of Mr. Witts' paper, read at Stow-on-the-Wold in the same year. It will be my endeavour in this paper to throw what new light I can on the bells of Gloucestershire by means of a comparison of the works of the different founders, not only within the confines of the county, but as far as possible with the help of knowledge gained from a study of the bells of the neighbouring shires.

As so much has been written by more competent pens on the history of bells in general, their origin and uses, and all that is known is to be found in the works of Messrs. Ellacombe, North, Stahlschmidt, and others, I will not enlarge further on this point, but will plunge *in medias res*, while at the same time I wish to state that my remarks will deal almost entirely with old bells, *i.e.* those of Pre-reformation date, or such at any rate as may be considered prior to the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is perhaps superfluous to say that it is the bells of the mediæval period that present the greatest and most varied amount of interest.

The special interest of mediæval bells lies in the fact that



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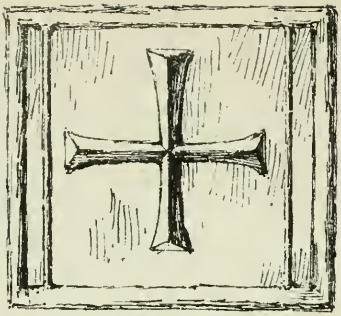

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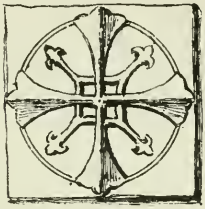

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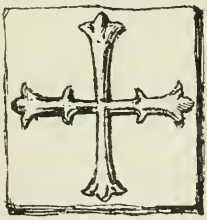

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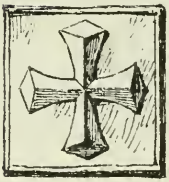

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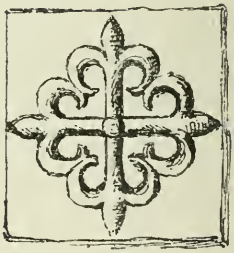

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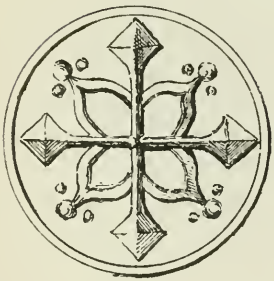

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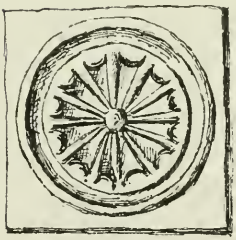

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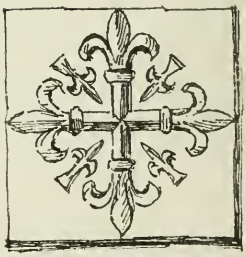

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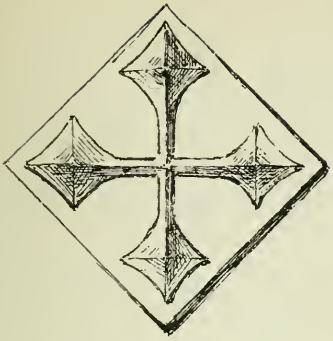

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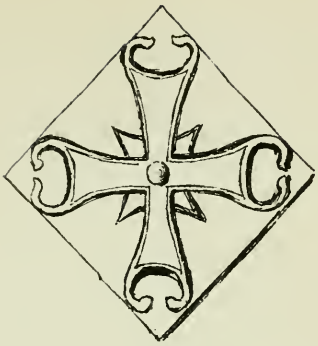

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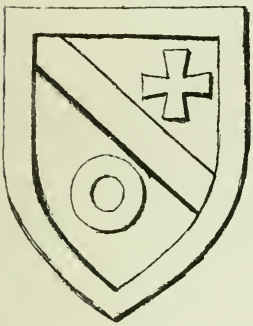

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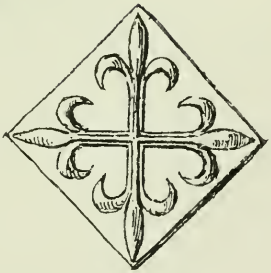

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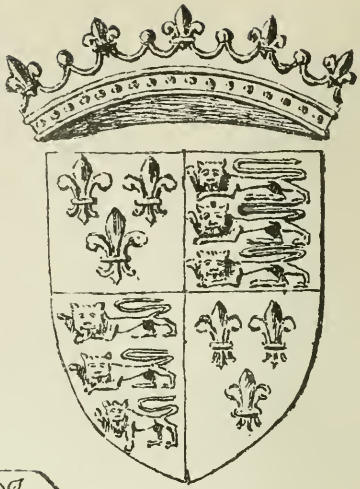

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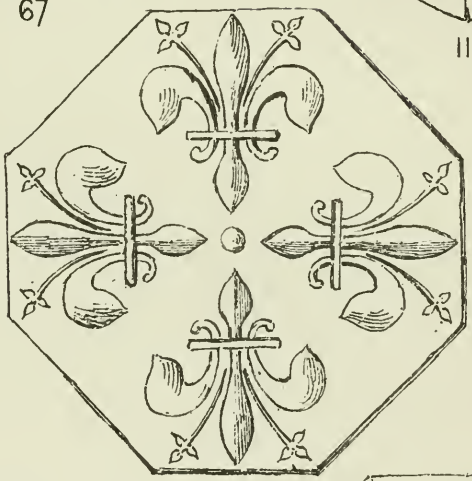

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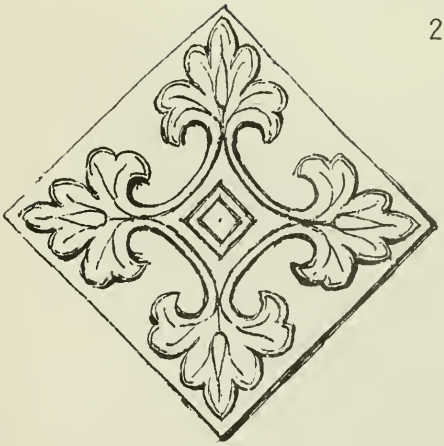

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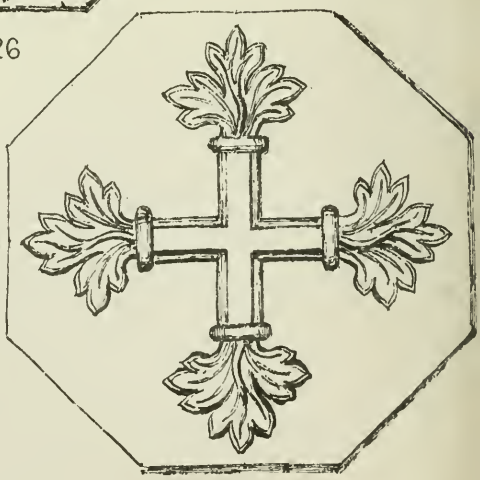

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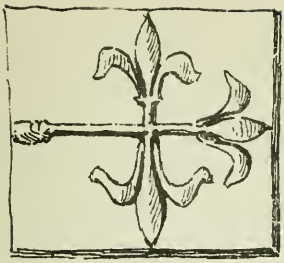

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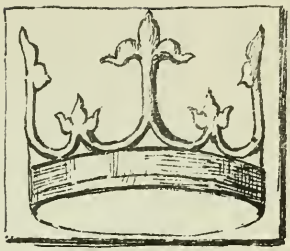

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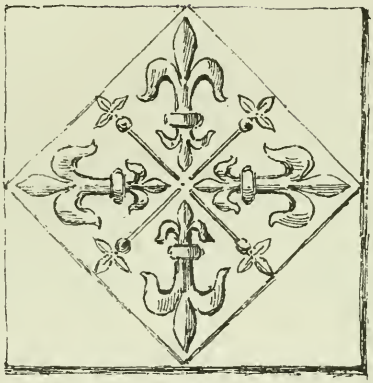

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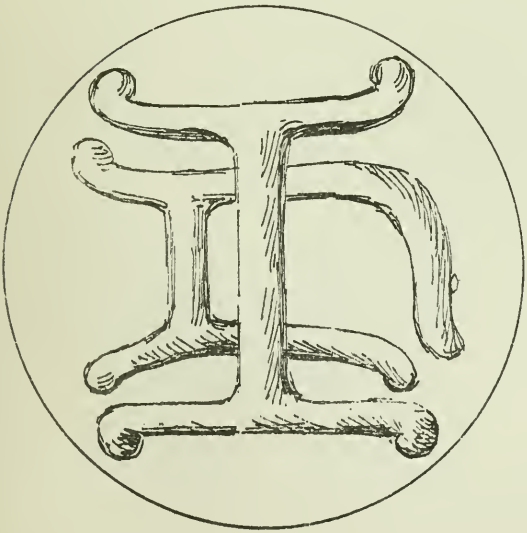

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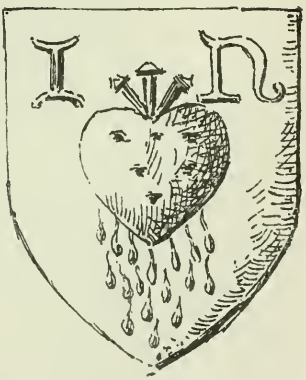

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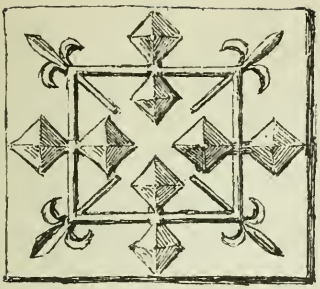

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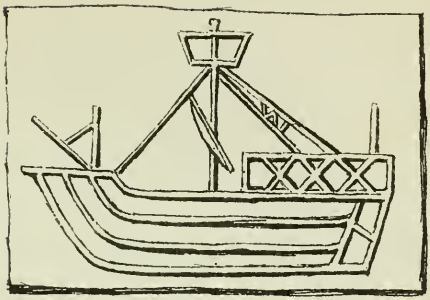

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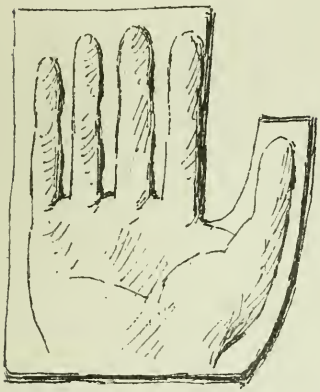

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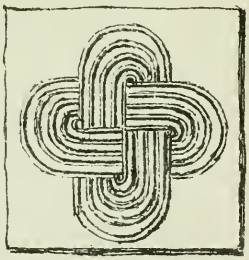

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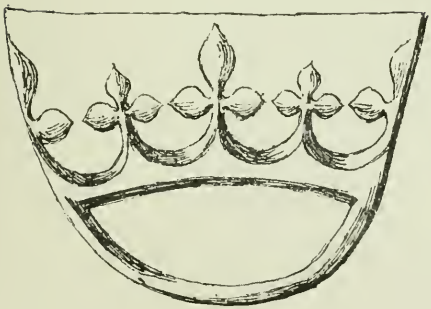

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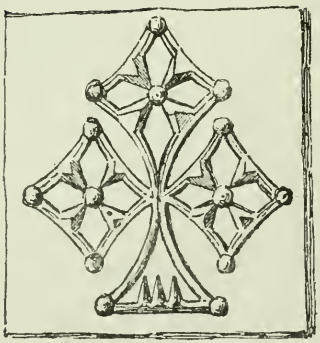

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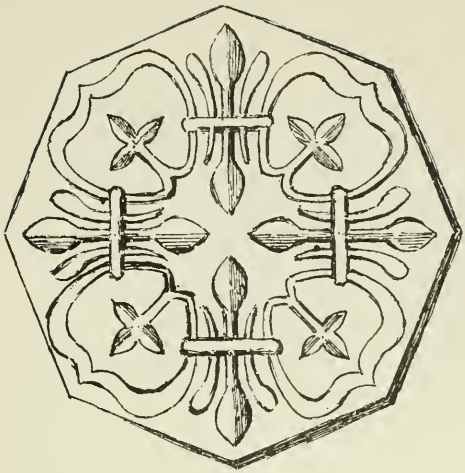

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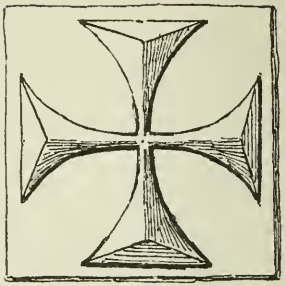

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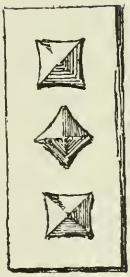

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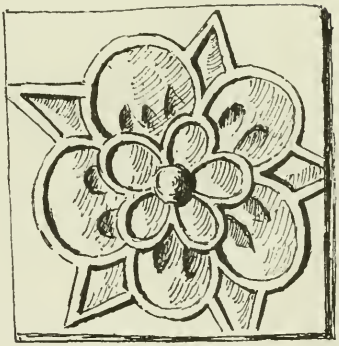

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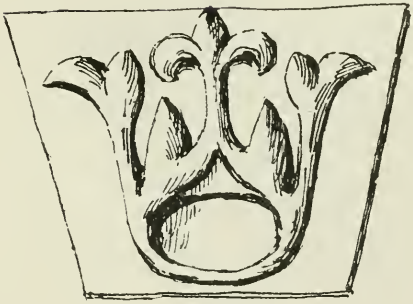

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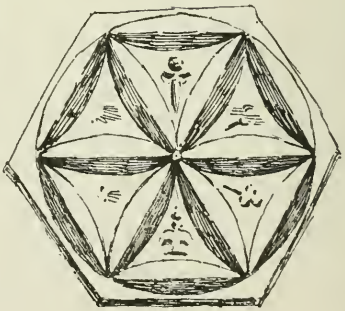

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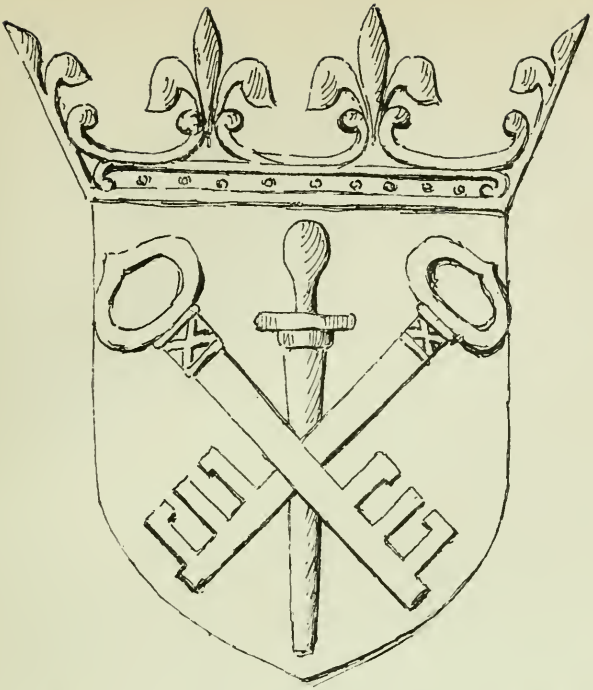

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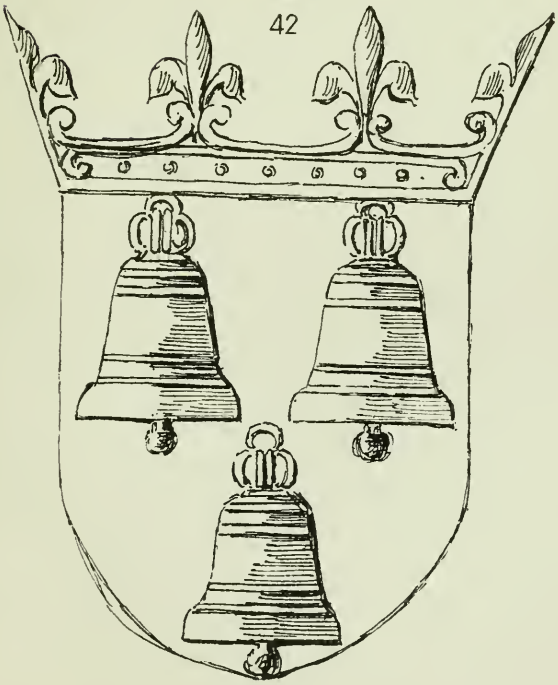

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at first sight they tell us so little about themselves. The bell-hunter, on his first introduction to a mediæval bell, will probably be considerably surprised to find that it records neither the date of its casting nor, generally speaking, the name of its founder. But those who are familiar with the subject know that herein lies its especial charm. The chief reason why so little interest attaches to bells of later date is that, as a rule, they afford no scope for further investigation. To a certain extent this is due to the uninteresting character of the inscriptions, and the absence of the beautiful crosses, shields, and other ornaments that we find on mediæval bells; but antiquarian as well as artistic instincts may be pardoned for a feeling of regret that the changes brought about by the Reformation had the same disastrous effects on the bell-founder's craft as on other branches of mediæval art.

We see then that the science of Campanology, or elucidation of the history of bells and their founders, deals for the most part with the period preceding the Reformation. This period is also not without a *terminus post quem*, as the ancient bells at present existing only cover a period of about 250 years—from 1280 to 1530. There are a few bells in England which may from their archaic shape be attributed to an earlier date, but the majority of them are devoid of inscriptions, and consequently their date can only be a matter of conjecture.

There is a bell at Chaldon, in Surrey—a delightfully out-of-the-way village, though within twenty miles of London,—which Mr. Stahlschmidt* refers to the first part of the thirteenth century. It is inscribed in early but beautiful Gothic capitals CAPANA BEATI PAVLI, and is of a quaint shape, very like a flower-pot, the crown being almost spherical and the sides almost straight, ending off with an abrupt curve at the sound-bow. I should not, however, be inclined to date this bell much before 1250, as before that date Roman type would be more naturally used than Gothic.

* *Surrey Bells and London Bellfounders*, p. 77.

In September, 1890, I was fortunate enough to light upon a bell at Caversfield, in Oxfordshire, which, as far as I know, was absolutely unique in date and character, but which I hear has since been wantonly recast. The shape was even more archaic than that of the Chaldon bell, while the tone must have been heard to be properly appreciated. Musical it certainly was not. Round the shoulder was the inscription in Roman letters ✠ IN HONORE SANCTI LAVRENTI, while an unintelligible inscription ran round the sound-bow. This bell, by comparison with that at Chaldon and others, can hardly be later than 1200, possibly even earlier. One of similar shape, but without inscription, lies in the chancel of Snettisham church, Norfolk.

Towards the end of the 13th century we have the 4th at Goring, Oxon., probably about 1290, and the earliest dated bell in England—as at present known—which is at Claughton, in Lancashire, and is dated 1296. But I know of no others that can safely be placed earlier than 1300.

It may be laid down that for the proper study of mediæval bells it is useless to confine one's investigations to a single county, or they would be indeed imperfect. This is perhaps not the case with Gloucestershire so much as with other counties, as there are a remarkable number of marks on Gloucestershire bells that are quite peculiar to the county. This is due primarily to the fact that it possessed two important foundries in mediæval times, at Gloucester and Bristol. It is not always easy to attribute particular bells to either of these foundries, but it would be safe to say that a very small proportion of the mediæval bells were cast outside the shire.

We have a very remarkable instance of the contrary state of things in the neighbouring County of Warwickshire. Of some fifty-six mediæval bells not a single one can be claimed as a local product, while almost every known foundry in England has at one time or another contributed a bell to Warwickshire. This is no doubt to some extent owing to its geographical position in the centre of England.

In the Home Counties again nearly all the ancient bells come from the great London founders, about whom so much is now known from Mr. Stahlschmidt's laborious and invaluable investigations, that almost every old bell within forty miles or so of the Metropolis can be approximately dated and assigned to its founder. Hence in a county like this where we are more or less on unknown ground we are presented with problems of far greater difficulty, and at the same time far greater interest in that there is more scope for the investigation of the (at present) unknown.

With regard to the adjacent counties, Somerset has, of course, been done by Mr. Ellacombe, but it is much to be regretted that no others have as yet been completely investigated except Warwick and Wilts. The results of my friend Mr. Tilley's labours in the former county will, I hope, be soon given to the world, as they are now practically completed. Mr. Lukis' little book on Wiltshire bells was published in 1857, and is, I believe, accurate as far as it goes, but is so sparsely illustrated that it affords little help. Monmouth has so far been totally ignored, while Hereford and Oxford are more or less *terræ incognitæ*. Fortunately I have a better account to give of Worcestershire, in which county the results of Mr. Tilley's investigations and my own have been more than once of service in affording points of comparison with Gloucestershire.

As I propose now to deal at some length with the bells of the mediæval period, it may perhaps be advisable to say a few words, by way of introduction to the subject, on their general characteristics.

First, as to shape. The earliest existing bells, as I have already stated, are of a very remarkable elongated shape, and as a rule singularly wild in tone on this account. Bells of this shape may certainly be regarded as anterior to the time of Edward I. About the year 1270, however, a change appears to take place in the shape, presumably a gradual development, although we have no adequate evidence on this point. The bells still continue long-waisted, but the widening-

out towards the sound-bow is much more marked. This, of course, at the same time tends to improve the tone, and many mediæval bells are possessed of excellent tone, in no way inferior to those of later date. At the same time, they are not well adapted for change-ringing—as indeed they were never meant to be—and it may be remarked in passing that it was the introduction of that science in the middle of the 17th century that largely contributed to the disappearance of the older bells from our church towers. Long-waisted bells are sometimes found of a later date, and many of the Rudhalls' bells have this archaistic appearance, which is liable to deceive the unwary if the bell does not happen to bear an inscription. But there is an indefinable appearance about a mediæval bell which should enable a practised eye to perceive the difference in any case.

Secondly, as to the character and style of the inscriptions. Two forms of lettering are used: the Gothic or Lombardic capitals, and the black-letter, or old English smalls, with or without initial capital letters.

In my earliest campanological researches, chiefly in Cambridgeshire and neighbourhood, I had been led to believe that there was a definite line of demarcation in the uses of these two varieties of lettering; viz., that inscriptions wholly in Gothic type were earlier than 1400, after which date they were superseded by the black-letter smalls, which lasted down to the Reformation. To a great extent this opinion was justified, and is indeed fully borne out by evidence derived from the Eastern and Home counties. The rigorous adhesion to this rule is characteristic not only of the great London founders, but also those of Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich, and Reading. Why this orthodoxy should be practically confined to one part of England I cannot say, but certain it is that subsequent investigations in the Western Midlands caused a speedy recantation of my original views. Worcestershire, in particular, has produced very remarkable results. I have seen or have information of some forty or fifty mediæval bells in that county, many of which must belong to the 15th or

early 16th century; yet there is not a single black-letter inscription among them, except on a bell at Abberley, near Stourport, and even that is probably a second-hand bell, and appears to have been manufactured in Yorkshire.

We have, it is true, a fair number of black-letter bells in Gloucestershire, but at the same time it is easy to show that a large number of the bells with inscriptions in capitals date considerably later than the 14th century. In fact, some would appear at first sight to be post-Reformation, though the theology of the inscription generally militates against such an idea.

As regards the use of black-letter smalls in inscriptions, I am bound to notice an important but somewhat disconcerting piece of evidence that has lately come to my knowledge. There is a brass in the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford, dated 1349, which bears an inscription in good black-letter, with Gothic capitals for the initials. If the date were not given, one would certainly have placed this brass later than 1400. I have also seen a Flemish brass of 1370 at Aveley, in Essex, with a black-letter inscription. To what extent this evidence may affect the date of black-letter inscriptions on bells, I am not at present prepared to say, as no evidence can as yet be brought forward for placing any such in the fourteenth century. The earliest London founder who uses smalls is William Dawe, who dates from 1385 to 1420, and has always been regarded as an example of the transition, as one or two of his inscriptions are in Gothic capitals throughout; but this does not affect the question, as we want to prove the use of black-letter on bells of an earlier date than 1385. I cannot, however, help thinking that the evidence of the above-mentioned brasses ought to make us very careful in laying down any definite statements as to the successive use of the two varieties of lettering; if they are contemporaneous on brasses, why not also on bells?

A fourteenth century bell is usually characterised by its simplicity, and the shorter the inscription, the earlier the bell is likely to be—while the ornamentation is confined, as a rule,

to an initial cross and a plain stop between the words, necessitated by the fact of the whole inscription being in capitals. The founders' shields and trade-marks, which form one of the special beauties of mediæval bells, do not appear much before 1400; they are moreover almost the exclusive property of the "orthodox" founders of the South-eastern counties. The reason of this may be that, as I shall hope to show later, the bells in this part of England were largely cast at monasteries, and not by regular guilds of tradesmen such as the London "bellyeteres" were.

Besides crosses, shields, and stops, we find other marks on old bells, such as medallions, symbols, figures of animals, or geometrical devices. Gloucestershire is peculiarly rich in such forms of ornament, as is the neighbouring county of Somerset—in fact, the founders of the Western Counties seem to have allowed their fancy to run riot in this respect. As instances, I may mention the ship (41)* at Tortworth, the rose (24) at Swindon, the knot (37) and the hand (34) at Wapley, and the bird which appropriately enough occurs at Crowcombe, Somerset. On the tenor at Dorchester, Oxon., probably by an Oxford founder, there is a regular procession of fearful wild-fowl and strange beasts.

We also find many crosses of original and elaborate device in Gloucestershire, which tend to show that our local founders were men of great fertility of invention and artistic taste. Good instances are to be found at Yate (61), Duntisbourne Rous (10), Elberton (38), Saul (72), and Pitchcomb (59). The most beautiful marks in Gloucestershire, however, are seen on the London founders' handiwork at Rendcombe and Gloucester Cathedral.

Next, as to the character of the inscriptions found on mediæval bells, which usually take the form of invocations to saints or leonine hexameters. To a certain extent the length of an inscription is a guide to the date, but only when taken in conjunction with the style of lettering. It may be laid

* In the numbers on the plates and throughout the paper I have adhered to the numbering of Mr. Ellacombe's plates for convenience.

down as a general rule that the shortest are the earliest, but some early inscriptions are of considerable length, as at Goring, Oxon., where the 4th bell has an inscription of two lines—a prayer for Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, who died October 6, 1291, and the name of the founder, Richard Wymbish. Again, in Elizabethan times there is a return to short and abbreviated inscriptions; they are, however, generally in black-letter smalls without capitals. Some founders of this period, such as the Newcombes of Leicester, use simply names of saints, as at Lutterworth, Leics., and Polebrook, Northants, and these archaistic inscriptions are very liable to deceive those who are not well acquainted with the founders' special crosses and marks.

The earliest form of inscription is found on the bell at Chaldon, Surrey: CA̅PANA BEATI PAVLI, and at Besford, Worcestershire, c. 1320: CAMPANVM SC̅I MKAELIS. The use of the Salutation is also a guide to date: on the earliest bells we find simply AVE MARIA; the next stage adds GRACIA PLENA; and later still we find the complete form AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM. Other early bells have simply IHESVS or IOHANNES. The next stage is the introduction of rhyming hexameters, of which there is endless variety. The commonest are

ETERNIS (*or* IN MVLTIS) ANNIS RESONET CAMPANA IOHANNIS

VIRGINIS EGREGIE VOCOR CAMPANA MARIE

MISSI DE CELIS HABEO NOMEN GABRIELIS

PROTEGE VIRGO (*or* PURA) PIA QVOS CONVOCO SANCTA MARIA

SVM ROSA PVLSATA MVNDI MARIA (*or* KATARINA) VOCATA

These continue to the end of the fourteenth century, but are by that time largely superseded by invocations to saints, with the formula ORA PRO NOBIS. In the fifteenth century

Sit Nomen Domini Benedictvm
Nomen Magdalene Campana Gerit Melodie
Vox Avgvstini Sonat In Avre Dei
IHESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM

are very popular, the three first especially with London founders.

It may be remarked in passing that *small* Gothic capitals generally appear to be earlier than large, but this may be merely due to the fact that the earlier bells are usually of smaller size. Another sign of early date is the use of a plain stop of three dots vertically placed.

English inscriptions before the Reformation are rare, and generally quaint. Snowshill is a good specimen: IN NAME OF TRINITYE GILLIS BELL MEN CALL ME. Again, a charming bit of old English at Heckfield, Hants—HAIL MARY FUL OF GRAS. A good old word is found at Bicker, Lincs.: IOH: ME YEYT, *i.e.* "cast," from Lat. *jacere*. Inscriptions in Flemish and Norman-French are occasionally found, but for the most part on foreign importations.

As to the saints to whom bells are dedicated, it may be noted that they correspond very closely with Church dedications in the scale of popularity. The commonest are Mary, Anna, Peter, John Evangelist and Baptist, Katharine, Thomas, Nicholas, and Gabriel. In Gloucestershire we find several rare examples, such as Leonard, Clement, and Lawrence. At Oldbury-on-the-Hill is a somewhat unintelligible name; it may be meant for Arild, the patron saint of the church. The treble at Staverton is dedicated to SANCTE POLIO, probably meant for St. Paul; but it reminds me of a certain Sancte Apoline who is only known to history through the medium of one of the bells at St. Botolph, Cambridge, and who is by right a female saint, Apollonia. As is the case with mediæval church dedications, certain of the Apostles, SS. Matthew, James, Philip, Simon, and Jude, have been curiously neglected. It is but rarely that an old bell is dedicated to the patron saint of the church, but a good instance to the contrary is at Dorchester, Oxon., where one remaining old bell is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, the other to St. Birinus, these being the three patrons of the Abbey Church.

Names of donors and prayers for souls of benefactors are not infrequent, and often throw light on the date of a bell. The sanctus at St. Nicholas, Gloucester, is a case in point, as I shall show later on.

The modesty of mediæval founders will bear favourable comparison with the modern tendency in the other direction, when even the fact of a bell being "patent cast-steel" appears to be a subject for self-glorification. The London founders of the fourteenth century however often forego their modesty with a view to the benefit of posterity; but only one of our Gloucestershire craftsmen has thought fit to do so, namely Robert Hendley, whose name is to be found on the 4th at St. Nicholas, Gloucester. From other sources we hear of John Sandre or Sanders, William Henshaw, and Richard Atkyns, as mediæval exponents of the bell-founding art in Gloucester; another founder, John Barbur, who probably lived at Bristol, and whose works occur at Sapperton and Leonard Stanley, has been traced by means of a bell at Chittern All Saints, Wiltshire; and another, William Warwick, also a Bristolian, by means of a bell at Hereford Cathedral.* I am of opinion that there is another reason for the scarcity of founders' names on mediæval bells—and though there is no doubt that important foundries must have existed both at Gloucester and Bristol, there is a good deal of evidence to shew that many old bells had an odour of sanctity shed upon them from their first birth by the fact that they were cast under the auspices of Mother Church herself. The evidence is especially strong in the Western Midlands, and the local proverb, "As sure as God's in Gloucestershire," reminds us of the number and importance of the monastic foundations within the borders of this shire alone. It is possible that well-known founders set up their foundries within the monastic precincts, but still I am inclined to think that the monks did a good deal on their own account. There is a very remarkable bell at Grimley,

* The Rev. C. S. Taylor informs me that one Johannes le Belyetere served the office of *propositus* of Bristol in 1236, which shews that a foundry existed in the city at that early date.

near Worcester, dated 1482, with an inscription in a sort of manuscript type, giving the name of Robert Multon, prior of Worcester. As there is a group of similar bells in the immediate neighbourhood of Worcester, I think it extremely probable that the monks of that city may have been responsible for their production. Further, I think it may fairly be taken for granted that when a bell bears the arms of a see or monastery, we have evidence of its monastic origin; instances of this are to be found in the towers of both Bristol and Gloucester Cathedrals, and on a bell formerly at Winchcombe Abbey, now at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, bearing the arms of that abbey and the initials of the last abbot, Richard Kidderminster.

The last-named bell bears two of the stamps known as Royal Heads, and bells with these stamps are very common in the Midlands. Here again I am inclined to think that the use of these stamps was a privilege granted to the monasteries; but until the whole series is thoroughly investigated, it is safer to reserve judgment. I will merely remark that the founders of these bells seem to have possessed a remarkably large and varied stock of leonine hexameters for use as inscriptions, some being quite unique—and this seems to point to the influence of learned monks, as such inscriptions would be beyond the scope of an ordinary bell-founder's knowledge. Another piece of evidence is the mortar in the Museum at York cast by one of the Friars. (See *Archæological Journal*, XIV., p. 285.)

I have not seen this theory brought forward in any book hitherto written on this subject; but my friend Mr. Tilley has also collected a good deal of evidence, and I have every hope that further investigation will justify our conclusions.

I will now proceed to treat of the mediæval bells in detail, classifying them in groups as far as possible, with the aid of information gained from internal and external sources, and giving when possible the names and approximate dates of founders.

Roughly speaking, there are about a hundred mediæval

bells in Gloucestershire, of which only a small proportion can with any certainty be referred to the fourteenth century. Those that can be, fall mostly into small groups.

The earliest inscribed bell in the county is undoubtedly the 3rd at Bristol Cathedral, which has every appearance of great antiquity, even compared with the other two mediævals in the tower. It bears a rather curious and French-looking cross (63), and some of the letters, especially E, are of a simple, almost Roman form, always an evidence of early date. A bell with the same cross formerly existed at Vowchurch, in Herefordshire, and there is another at Sarnesfield, in the same county, with a similar, but not the same, cross. The lettering, however, is quite different and very curious, some of the letters, such as the A and M, being very elaborate. I think it is an importation from France, and probably of very early date; viz, thirteenth century. I am led to this opinion by a bell at Fontenailles, in Normandy, the inscription on which is illustrated in Mr. Lynam's *Church Bells of Staffordshire*, and which is dated 1202. The cross is just like that at Bristol, and some of the letters, I for instance, like those at Sarnesfield. I should be inclined to date the Bristol bell about 1300.

Equally early, or perhaps earlier, is the 1st at Harescombe, which is devoid of inscription, but is of a very elongated and almost cylindrical shape. I have not seen the bell myself, but have derived my information from a paper in Vol. IX. of this Society's Transactions, p. 104. The other bell of this church, recast in 1884, was probably of the 14th century, but I do not know of any other instance of the cross which it bore (No. 9 in Ellacombe).

An interesting but rather puzzling group of 14th century date is formed by the following bells:—

Sapperton 1st	... ...	Cross, Ellacombe	52
Turkdean 2nd	... ...	do.	52
Brookthorpe 1st	... ...	do.	105
Leonard Stanley 1st	...	do.	105
Winstone 2nd	... ...	do.	105
Gretton bell (recast in fac-simile 1890)		do.	78

And in other counties:—

Dorstone 2nd, Herefordshire	Cross, Ellacombe	105
Stoke Lacy 1st & 2nd do.	do.	105
Swyncombe, Oxfordshire ...	do.	52
Acton Scott 1st & 2nd, Salop	do.	78
Clungunford 2nd do.	do.	105
Neen Sollars 1st do.	do.	105
Onibury 2nd & 3rd do.	do.	78
Clapton-in-Gordano sanctus, Somerset	do.	52
Atherstone-on-Stour 1st, Warwickshire	do.	52
do. 2nd do.	do.	105
Besford 1st, Worcestershire	do.	52
Broadwas 4th do.	do.	105
Great Malvern 5th do.	do.	105

At Besford, Swyncombe, and on each Atherstone bell are different types of lettering; while at Broadwas a different stop is used, but on all the others we find the same lettering and the stop No. 73 in Ellacombe.

The Besford bell appears to be the earliest of the series, about 1320. On the sanctus at Clapton-in-Gordano is the very interesting inscription:

SIGNIS CESSANDIS ET SERVIS CLAMO CIBANDIS;

an account of it will be found in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, XXXII., p. 225. The name and locality of the founder or founders of this group are quite unknown, but geographical evidence points to Gloucester.

This group would accord very well in point of date with John Sanders, of Gloucester, about whom Mr. Ellacombe has collected a good deal of information, to which unfortunately I have nothing to add. Dr. Raven, in his *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, gives some interesting extracts relating to his casting of the ring at Ely Cathedral, and we know that his date was about 1350. But I cannot definitely point to these or any other bells as his handiwork, which is much to be regretted, seeing that he was such an important founder.

At Buckland is a sanctus bell of the 14th century inscribed simply SANCTVS SANCTVS SANCTVS, in small and early-looking letters.

The quaint little tower of Duntisborne Rous Church contains two rather rudely-cast bells which appear to belong to the fourteenth century; both bear traces of having been at one time exposed to the weather. The smaller of the two is inscribed SCE MATHIA ORA PRO NOBIS, and bears three quite indistinguishable marks, one being the impression of a coin, and the other looks like the lower part of a cross; but neither marks nor lettering occur elsewhere, and I am inclined to think it is the production of a local and unpractised hand.

The larger bell is more intelligible. The cross (10), here within a square, occurs within a circle at Oldbury-on-the-Hill 1st, and on the sanctus at St. Stephen's, Bristol; it is also found on two bells in Somersetshire: Emborough 1st and Thurloxton 2nd. Probably the founder of this group was an inhabitant of Bristol.

Two other bells of this period are to be found in two of the most out-of-the-way churches in Gloucestershire: the first at Side, and the solitary bell at Charlton Abbots. The Side bell bears a complete alphabet, which is somewhat remarkable, as most alphabet bells appear to be post-Reformation, and belong to a time when the founder wished to avoid giving offence to either side by the sentiments of his inscriptions, and had recourse to this manner of evading the *odium theologicum*. The cross (2) rather resembles that used by an itinerant founder, Simon de Hazfelde, who only occurs at Stanwick, Northants, and Sutterton, Lincolnshire; but I have had no means of ascertaining whether the lettering is the same.

The Charlton Abbots bell bears a cross (104) not known elsewhere; I am rather doubtful whether it is correctly reported in Ellacombe, and as I was unable to rub more than half the inscription (which is moreover very much worn by exposure to the weather), I cannot say anything more about

it. As reported in Ellacombe it bears the letters I.S., which of course suggest John Sanders, of Gloucester. It does not appear to bear any of the marks or lettering which appear on other bells cast at Gloucester, and I cannot but think that even at this date we should possess more than one bell from so important a founder as John Sanders; moreover the lettering is not found elsewhere. We must then suppose that I.S. are either the initials of some other founder or of the donor.

I next come to two very beautiful examples from Randwick, unique as far as Gloucestershire is concerned; but the tenor at Burford, Oxon., and the 4th at Batheaston, Somerset, are of similar type. The letters are large and fine, and the cross (70) is also a good one. They probably date about 1380.

The only other bells that can be attributed to the fourteenth century fall into two groups: (1) Oxenhall 1st, Side 3rd, and a bell at Compton Abdale now recast. They bear an ordinary cross fleurie (57), and are probably from the Gloucester foundry; I know of no examples in other counties. (2) Pitchcombe, Hardwick 3rd, Alderley, and Snowshill, an interesting quartette with a beautiful and elaborate cross (59), and a type of lettering which as will be seen later was much used by succeeding Bristol founders. As there are several similar bells in Somerset, there is little doubt that they are the work of a Bristolian. The inscriptions are mostly brief, such as at Pitchcombe: IOHANNES VOCABITVR; MARIA VIRGO at Kingsbury Episcopi, Somerset; and ISTE EST IOHANNES at Lockinge, in the same county. At Pitchcombe and Alderley appears a small wheel-mark (11) as a stop. I have found a bell at East Ham, Essex, with very similar lettering and stop which closely resembles the cross (59); but cannot feel justified in connecting it certainly with this group.

For a while now we must leave the products of local industry, and turn our attention to the London founders and their remains in Gloucestershire, though in so doing I must anticipate chronology a little, as their traces extend from the

first half of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. The first group of bells that I have to deal with are not, strictly speaking, Londoners, but are so closely connected with two known fourteenth century London founders that I think it is best to deal with them here.

In Hertfordshire and East Anglia there is a small group of bells, three of which bear the names of London founders who flourished about 1360-1390; at Westmill, Herts, we find William Rofforde, and at Chippenham, Cambridge, Henry Derby. Both these founders use the same cross (60) and lettering, and the latter the well-known Royal Head stops (35 and 36) representing Edward I. and Eleanor of Castile. Now the same lettering, cross, and stops occur on a very widely-scattered series of bells which are found in several of the Midland Counties; viz., Gloucester, Hereford, Northants, Oxford, Salop, Warwick, and Worcester; in all I know of thirty-two, and there are doubtless more. The most interesting of the group is the 3rd at Bitterley, Salop, which has an inscription in Norman-French :—

JESV LE SEIGNE SEYNT ANNE PER LE ORDYNAVNCE ALEIS STVRYE QVE DIV ASOILE PVR SAGAVNT MERCY.

I have above given my reasons for attributing a monastic origin to these bells, and certainly it seems difficult to attribute them to any particular founder, as there are certain slight differences which separate them from the East Anglian group; and they cannot be by a London founder, as there are none in the Home Counties.

At the Reformation the stamps and lettering passed into the hands of the Nottingham founders, with whom they remained down to the end of the eighteenth century; we find a bell by George Hedderley at Wellingore, in Lincolnshire, dated as late as 1787, on which this lettering and the Royal heads are used.

Worcestershire possesses the largest number, ten; and there are seven in Gloucestershire, besides two lately recast. They are to be found at Boddington, Coberley, Huntley,

Kempley (2), Upper Slaughter, and Winstone; the two recast were at Dyrham and Coberley. I have said that they are chiefly remarkable for the number and variety of leonine hexameters which we find on them; they are moreover always excellent castings, and free from inaccuracies of grammar or orthography, except that the letter S is frequently reversed.

Other Royal heads are to be found on bells, viz.—Edward III. and Philippa—the history of which stamps is not easy to trace. They occur on the bell at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, formerly at Winchcombe Abbey, which is by a Nottingham founder about 1480—1500, and belongs to a series widely diffused in the North Midlands.

Finally on a small group of Worcestershire bells we find the heads of Henry VI. and his Queen Margaret and Prince Edward. To this series belongs the Grimley bell mentioned above, with the name of Prior Multon of Worcester, and thus we see that in each case a connection is to be traced between these Royal Head stamps and monastic foundations.

To return to Cockayne. An interesting trio at Rendcombe is the work of one John Danyell, about whom Mr. Stahlschmidt* and Dr. Raven† have collected much interesting information. He was first identified as the maker of the treble of the ring of five bells once the proud possession of the ancient and royal foundation of King's College, Cambridge. I do not know whether the College suffered as much from agricultural depression 150 years ago as at the present day; but whatever the cause, they saw fit to melt down this noble ring, which was without its equal in England, and only the College archives survive to tell the tale of their transactions with John Danyell, bellfounder. Besides a small cross (69—2) peculiarly his own, and the Royal arms of the period (1 and 4 semée of fleur-de-lys, 2 and 3 three leopards passant), he uses a very beautiful mark known as the "Jesu mercy" shield (87), from the inscription round it: ihu merci lady help; this mark is also used by his contemporary or

* *Surrey Bells and London Bellfounders*, p. 58.

† *Church Bells of Suffolk*, p. 22.

successor, Henry Jurden, whose beautiful bells are unfortunately unknown in Gloucestershire.

Jurden was contemporaneous with one Richard or Robert Hille, who cast the 6th at Shipton Moyne about 1450. He may always be identified by his founder's mark known as the "cross-and-ring" shield (112). His bells are fairly common, but not so widely spread as those of Jurden and Danyell. He was succeeded by his widow Joanna, who married one John Sturdy, also a bellfounder. After his death she set up a foundry on her own account, the only known instance of a lady taking to this line of business. We find her initials I.S. on several bells, with the lozenge between, the heraldic mark of womanhood. I should like to attribute the 2nd at Gloucester Cathedral to the husband John Sturdy, as we have the initials but no lozenge. It is true that the lettering and initial cross are different; but it certainly cannot be by Sanders of Gloucester, as it is at least a century later than his time. But the 5th of the Cathedral ring is undoubtedly by a London founder, as it bears two crosses (50 and 51) which were used by most of the fifteenth century Londoners; unfortunately there is no founder's mark, so that further identification is impossible.

We have not yet done with the Metropolis. The 6th at St. Werburgh's, Bristol, and the 6th at Gloucester Cathedral, together with the 7th at the latter (recast with inscription in fac-simile, but reversed, in 1626) are undoubtedly by a London founder, but at present unknown. There are similar bells in the clock-tower at St. Albans, at Limpsfield, Surrey (recast in fac-simile), at Warminster, Wilts, and in Essex and Somerset. The letters are very broad and bold, and the capitals are most imposing, but I do not think this series can be earlier than 1500. The crosses used are Nos. 26, 27, and 58.

The next founder who claims our attention is one of the few local men whom I can introduce by name. From the distribution of his bells there is little doubt that he is a Bristol man, by name John Barbur. His name is known

from a bell at Chittern All Saints, in Wilts; he also occurs at Farley Chamberlayne, Hants, and there are no fewer than sixteen of his bells in Somerset. In this county we have only two, Sapperton 2nd and Leonard Stanley 2nd. He uses small, rather plain capitals, all crowned, and an elaborate floriated cross and stop (99 and 15). I think his date may be set down as the first half of the fifteenth century.

His successor appears to have migrated to or been an inhabitant of Worcester, and he was a man of austerer taste than his predecessor, as he drops the elaborate stop entirely, while he frequently contents himself with crowning only the initial letter of each word. There are some fifteen of his bells in Worcestershire, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral City, and others in Hereford, Salop, Stafford, and Warwick.

I must now turn to a few isolated bells about which I have not much to say. First of all comes the great bell of Gloucester Cathedral, known as Great Peter, which is perhaps the largest mediæval bell in existence, and certainly the oldest of the great bells of England. The only marks it bears are a shield with three bells (43) and another with St. Peter's keys, the arms of the monastery (42). The inscription runs :—

Me fecit fieri Conventus nomine petri,

and seeing that it also bears the arms of the monastery, it is clearly an instance of a bell cast under the supervision of the monks, like a bell at Bisley, Surrey, which is inscribed :—

FRATERNITAS FECIT ME IN HONORE BEATAE MAREIE.

The lettering is not, as far as I know, found elsewhere, and there is nothing in common with other Gloucestershire bells, though it may have been actually cast by some otherwise unknown Gloucester man. Other founders in Yorkshire and at Norwich use a shield with three bells, but this cannot possibly be attributed to any of them.

The sanctus at Gloucester St. Nicholas has a very interesting inscription in English, headed by a fleur-de-lys:—

IOH PUTTE ANDE AYLES HYS WYFE LET MAK ME BEY HER LYFE IN WORCHEPE OF SEYNTE ION.

Now the will of one John Pytte, of Gloucester, is in existence, dated 1558, and there is no reason why this bell should be much earlier than the Reformation, so that it may very well be that John Putte and John Pytte are the same person. But a little research would no doubt finally settle the point.

The 2nd bell at Bristol Cathedral and the 4th at Westerleigh bear very similar crosses, both incorrectly drawn in Ellacombe's plates (64 and 39); they belong to a series very common in Devon and Somerset. The lettering and stops on these two bells are quite different; at Westerleigh the capitals are very large and beautiful, but at the Cathedral the only capital used is small and plain. I am however bound to connect them, on account of the great similarity of the crosses.

Now the cross (39) occurs in Somerset with a trade-mark bearing the initials **r n**, which Mr. Ellacombe has shown to belong to one Robert Norton, of Exeter, who lived about 1420-1460, and we may fairly attribute these two to him, the only two mediævals, except the two following, that have intruded beyond the Bristol founders into this county. Somerset, I may remark in passing, does not appear to have had any mediæval foundry of importance.

Robert Norton, or another founder working in connection with him, also possessed a series of capitals, which are frequently found in Devon and Somerset, and occur in Gloucestershire on the Brimpsfield and Horton tenors. They may be identified by what Mr. Ellacombe calls "the cracked M." On these bells occurs the cross (62), which is also used by Norton on his black-letter inscriptions in Devon and Somerset.

The 2nd at Matson appears to belong to the first half of the sixteenth century. There are mediævals at Eastleach

Martin, Notgrove, and Sherborne, about which I regret to say I have no information, as I have been unable to visit those places, and can glean nothing from Ellacombe.

The next series that I have to deal with is one of considerable interest, as it includes the only bells that can be attributed with absolute certainty to the mediæval Gloucester foundry. The whole series would seem to be later than the time of John Sanders, in fact not earlier than 1400, but fortunately one of them, the 4th at St. Nicholas, Gloucester, bears the name of a founder, Robert Hendley. We know of two other Gloucester founders of the earlier part of the sixteenth century—William Henshaw, who was successively sheriff and mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509, and whose brass is to be seen in St. Michael's Church; and Richard Atkyns, whose will exists dated 1529, and is given in full by Mr. Ellacombe. Unfortunately there is not a single bell in any county that can be traced to either of these.

The whole of the series I am about to discuss appears to be by one and the same founder, at least there is no variation in the marks or lettering; but the tenor at Standish is, according to Mr. Ellacombe, of so late a date that if it is by Robert Hendley he cannot be placed earlier than 1500. It bears the name of the Vicar, William Lawley, who Mr. Ellacombe states was Vicar after the Reformation. As however he gives no authority for this statement, I am disposed to think he may be mistaken, and that the Standish bell may rank with the others.

In Gloucestershire there are eighteen of them remaining; viz., at Aldsworth (3), Boddington, Charfield, Cromhall, Dowdeswell, Driffield, Elmstone Hardwicke, Farmington, Gloucester St. Nicholas, Hewelsfield, Leigh, Sevenhampton, Lower Slaughter, Standish, and Wollaston. It will be noted that none are to be found south of Charfield, *i.e.* within the range of the Bristol founders. There are also a few beyond the confines of the county: at Offchurch (2) and Butler's Marston, in Warwickshire; Letton and Yarpole, in Herefordshire; and Overbury, in Worcestershire.

They all bear a somewhat curious cross (40), a stop (79), and some of them a crown (33); the lettering is not very remarkable. From the bell at Gloucester St. Nicholas we gain another valuable piece of information besides the name of the founder; viz., that it was cast in the time of Clement Lichfield, sacrist. Now Clement Lichfield is not a common name, and it is well known that the tower of Evesham Abbey was built about 1535 by the last abbot of that abbey, whose name was Clement Lichfield. I learn from May's *History of Evesham* that he became abbot in 1514, having previously held some minor offices in the Abbey of Evesham; and though at present no one has been able to connect the two, it seems to be a very great probability that Clement Lichfield, sacrist of Gloucester, and the last abbot of Evesham were one and the same person. In that case he would have been sacrist not later than 1500, and we are thereby enabled to place the casting of the above-mentioned bell in the end of the fifteenth century, *i.e.* just previous to the time when William Henshaw came on the scene.

We have now discussed all the mediævals in the county except a large group which I have reserved to the last, partly because they will tide us over the storm and stress of the Reformation, and partly because their elucidation presents almost insurmountable difficulties. This group includes thirty-six bells in Gloucestershire, over sixty in Somerset, fourteen in Devon, and a few in Wiltshire. When I say that there are sixteen different marks, and at least five varieties of lettering employed, all in permutations and combinations which need the intellect of a Senior Wrangler to express, it may perhaps give some idea of the confusion which reigns; while the fact that three different founders have placed their initials on a considerable number of these bells, only serves to make the said confusion far worse confounded.

However, we may neglect the three adjacent counties for the present, and see what information can be gathered from the thirty-six examples in this county. It may be noted that they are almost entirely confined to the south and centre

of the county, and more especially the neighbourhood of Bristol. Taken in conjunction with the large number existing in Somerset, this clearly shows that it is with a Bristol foundry that we have to deal.

I have ventured on a rough chronological classification of this group, aided by the combinations of one or more particular marks, and by the style of the inscriptions, but without a complete personal investigation of the similar bells in Somerset it is impossible to do more.

First I place a group of six bells bearing a remarkable initial mark in the form of a ship (41),* all with inscriptions in Lombardic characters; they are Bristol, Temple church, sanctus; Oldbury-on-the-Hill, old church 2nd; Staverton 1st, Tortworth 5th, and Wapley 3rd and 4th. On Wapley 4th are two unique marks, a knot (37) and a hand (34); and both bells are further unique in that they have double inscriptions—one in capitals, the other in smalls. A bell with similar marks at Sheepwash, Devon, has been recast within the last few years. With these is connected the bell at Saul, bearing cross No. 72, which also occurs at Tortworth.

The same lettering is found in an enlarged form on the 3rd and 4th at Yate, two of the finest old bells in the county, hanging in one of the finest of Perpendicular towers. The 3rd was "let make" about 1470, by Robert Stanshawe, Lord of the Manor, or "Skyher" as the founder terms him. These two bells bear an elaborate cross, which was used by a succession of Bristol founders (25), and also occurs on the bell at Saul mentioned above; and the 4th bears a curious stop (61), which is also found on the 5th at St. Thomas, Bristol (with different lettering), and on the 9th at Hereford Cathedral, which bears the inscription:—

WILHELMVS WARWIKE CONSTRVXIT ME IN SANCTAE TRINITATIS HONORE.

William Warwick must then be the founder of the bells with

* The Rev. C. S. Taylor calls my attention to the fact that a ship has formed part of the arms of the city of Bristol since 1300 at least, an additional piece of evidence that this group is by a Bristol founder.

this enlarged lettering, and on the evidence of the Hereford Cathedral bell we can attribute to him the two Yate bells and the 4th at Molland Botreaux, Devon, but no others at present.

The cross 25 introduces us to the next group, but only occurs on one of them, Horton 3rd. On Abson 5th and 6th is the crown (32), as on the 1st and 2nd at Alveston, Horton 2nd, Bristol St. Thomas 5th, Stoke Gifford 1st, and Tibberton bell. All except Abson 5th and Horton 2nd have inscriptions in Gothic letters, a type already familiar to us from the Pitchcombe series. The other two have black-letter inscriptions.

But we have not yet done with cross No. 25. It is found on three bells of very late date, at Elberton, Gloucester St. Nicholas 5th, and Hartpury, which, from the style of lettering and other indications, must be about the middle of the sixteenth century. In Somerset and Devon this cross is found on ten bells by a founder whose initials are T.G. Now in Gloucestershire we have three bells by this founder, Brimpsfield 1st, Bristol St. Werburgh 3rd, and Stoke Gifford 2nd, all with black-letter inscriptions, and the crown No. 30; the two latter also bear cross No. 29, which T.G. uses on twelve occasions in Somerset and Devon.

Cross 29 occurs also at Ampney Crucis, Bristol Cathedral 1st, Bristol St. Thomas 6th, Hanham Abbots, Kingswood in Bitton 1st and 2nd, Leighterton, Swindon 3rd, Westerleigh 5th, Yate 1st, all black-letter inscriptions; and at Woodchester with what I will call for convenience the Pitchcombe lettering. The Yate treble is by a founder, R.T., who also occurs on Bristol St. Thomas 6th; but as he uses exactly the same marks as T.G., it is absolutely impossible to differentiate them.

Yet another founder occurs on Abson 3rd, with the undoubtedly post-Reformation inscription :—

al tym on nor god b i,

and the said H.I. is also to be found at Overton, Winsley, and Westwood, Wilts.*

* I have recently seen a bell of sixteenth century date at Fyfield, Wilts, with a reduced version of cross 25 and founder's initials T.I. or T.L.

The treble at Bristol Cathedral bears two very interesting shields (65 and 66), one with the initials J.N., denoting John Nailheart, who was abbot about 1486,* and the other with his rebus, a bleeding heart pierced by a nail. The lettering on this bell is not found on any of the others, so that we are not in any way aided by this information as to date.

Westerleigh 5th again has an inscription in lettering not found elsewhere, with a Q of very Elizabethan character, though the inscription is of a pre-Reformation sentiment. Brimpsfield 1st, which is inscribed

praysse ye the lorde t g,

must undoubtedly be of Elizabethan date, and the inference is that T.G., R.T., and H.I. were all working at the time of the Reformation, say 1520—1550; while it is impossible to attribute definitely to them any bells which do not bear their initials, owing to the confused way in which we find the various marks employed.

I fear I have done little to elucidate this confusion, but must now turn to the other remaining bells of the Elizabethan or Transitional period, to which T.G. and his fellow-craftsmen have brought us.

Besides Abson 3rd and Brimpsfield 1st, there are some ten bells in the county which can be definitely attributed to the Transitional period, six being dated; viz., Huntley 2nd, 1580 (the earliest bell in the county bearing a date); Lechlade 3rd, 1590; Sandhurst 5th and 6th, 1596; Gloucester Cathedral 1st, 1598; and Yate 5th, 1600.

At Churchdown, the 3rd is inscribed GEVE PRAISE.

Ampney Crucis 3rd: IOHN FLID GENTLEMAN RICERD SOVLE ION WIT WILLEM BISSHEP MENNISTER.

Dowdeswell 1st: al mi trust is in god.

Huntley 2nd: WF IT BAYLY OF HUNTLEY, 1580

Lechdale 3rd: TQ IQ AQ RE RP EO, probably by a Reading founder.

* A similar shield is to be seen on an old tile in Claines church, Worcestershire.

Ruardean 4th: FEARE GOD THAT IS THE BEGININGE OF WISDOM CV HM IB

Sandhurst 5th and 6th: GOD SAVE OVR QVEEN ELIZABETH 1596

(Similar bells at Stow-on-Wold 3rd, Westcote, and Holt and Teddington, Worcestershire, but with the name of King James.)

I must not here omit the Sudeley Castle Chapel bell with its dedication to St. George, given by Lady Dorothy Chandos in 1575; the inscription in black-letter was faithfully reproduced when it was recast in 1856.

Notgrove 2nd may belong to this period; it is the only instance in the county of what is known as a "puzzle" bell. These are very common before and after 1600, and most counties possess examples; the inscriptions are senseless jumbles of words and letters, and are probably the production of local craftsmen. At Notgrove we have apparently part of the alphabet, preceded by the injunction: SING.

The 5th at Yate, inscribed GEEVE THANKS TO GOD, is by a Bristol founder, Purdue, of whom I shall have more to say, while the 1st at Gloucester Cathedral is the only example from a very important foundry, that of Leicester, which from about 1520 to 1640 was in the possession of various members of the Newcombe and Watts families. On this bell appears the name of ROBART NEWCOMBE. The usual form of their inscription is chiefly remarkable for bad grammar and spelling :—

BE YT KNOWNE TO ALL THAT DOTH ME SEE
THAT NEWCOMBE OF LEICESTER HE MADE WEE.

The small number of bells of this period seems to be partly due to the fact that the Gloucester foundry came temporarily to an end for about 100 years—at least, we have no trace of any founders between Richard Atkyns and the Rudhalls. Another reason may be that after the Reformation considerable trade was done in second-hand bells, and many towers were furnished with the spoils of the monasteries. I cannot discover any instances in Gloucestershire, but the

Yorkshire bell at Abberley, Worcestershire, and an old bell at Chiselborough, Somerset, which was made by Stephen Norton, of Kent, are cases in point; also a bell at Luddesdown, in Kent, which comes from the Nottingham foundry.

We come now to the seventeenth century, and inscriptions, marks, and lettering for the most part lose all their interest. In another respect we are indeed more favoured, as we are in most cases enabled to ascertain the name and habitat of the founder. This century was terribly fatal to the mediæval bells. Many fell victims to the ravages of the Civil Wars, or were melted down to repair the roofs of churches which had been stripped of lead, or were sold to defray other necessary restorations. After the Restoration the introduction of change-ringing worked yet further ravages. Mediæval bells, though as a rule individually excellent in tone, were ill adapted in weight and shape for the melodious but intricate performance of Grandsire Triples and Treble Bob Majors, and an age like that of the later Stuarts could not be expected to greatly respect antiquity. The results of this are to be seen mostly of course in the town churches; and in the out-of-the-way country parishes, where money was scarce and musical taste perhaps at a discount, the beautiful products of an artistically more enlightened age were spared for the benefit of posterity.

Before we discuss the various founders of this period, it may be as well to give a few examples of the inscriptions which found favour with them, and which present a truly strange combination of Puritan piety and irreverent doggerel.

Abson 2nd:

ALL THOFT I AM THE LEAST OF YOY
NONE OF YOV ALL SHALL ME OVTE DOO.

Badgworth treble, a well-known instance:

BADGWORTH RINGERS THEY WERE MAD
BECAVSE RIGBE MADE ME BAD
BVT ABEL RVDHALL AS YOV SEE
HATH MADE ME BETTER THAN RIGBE.

Badgworth 2nd:

MVLTA ME IN PEDIERVNT. (?)

Bristol St. John 2nd:

I AM THE FIRST A'THOUGH BUT SMALL
I WILL BE HARD ABOVE YOU ALL.

Clifford Chambers 5th:

AND NOW I HOP TO PLEASE YOV ALL
AND SING TO THE GREAT CREATERS PRAYS
MY FATE HAS BEEN UNFORTUNATE
BEEFOR MYSELF COULD RAIS.

Hatherop 1st:

LET THE FIRST BELL SR JOHNS KIND GIFTS DECLARE
WHILST SMALL BELLS PLEASE AND GREAT ONES GLORIOUS ARE.

Hatherop 6th:

MAY THE LAST BELL FOR EVER RING AND RISE
THE FAMOVS NAME OF WEBB ABOVE THE SKIES.

Stanley St. Leonards 3rd:

LORD BY THY MIGHT KEEPE VS FROM POOPE AND HYPOCRITE.

Stroud 2nd:

THE PUBLIC RAISED US WITH A LIBERAL HAND
WE COME WITH HARMONY TO CHEER THE LAND.

Witcombe 2nd:

I AM THE VOICE OF A CRIER IN THE HOVS OF GOD
COM AND KIP HOLI.

The list of founders whose works are to be found in Gloucestershire between 1600 and 1800 is long and varied. Many of the seventeenth century founders were itinerant

journeymen who went about doing a job where they could, and very poor their work is, as a rule. But on the other hand there were many who attained to great excellence, foremost of whom of course are the Rudhalls. Before we come to them, however, we must treat of the various founders who belong to the period previous to their appearance, chief of whom are the Purdues, who appear to have lived partly at Salisbury, partly at Bristol, and partly at Closworth, in Somerset. They date from about 1600 to 1660, and were four in number, George, William, Roger, and Thomas. They use very large flat Roman letters, with a large Maltese cross, a sort of square, or a bell between their initials, and their favourite inscriptions are such as PRAYSE YE THE LORD, GEVE PRAISE TO GOD, or simply ANNO DOMINI with the date. Mr. Ellacombe finds thirty-nine of their bells in Gloucestershire; and they are very common in Somerset, Wilts, and other adjacent counties.

The remaining founders of this period are mostly unimportant, and many were no doubt itinerants. John Clarke, who is found at Wormington with his private mark the pentacle, goes very far afield, and is found in Norfolk, Herts, and most of the Home Counties. Of John Londes at Fairford I know and can find nothing; and the same applies to William Whetmore at Frocester (1639)* and a certain L.C. at Bitton. At Gloucester St. Nicholas the 2nd is by a founder whose initials are I.B., with a bell between. He uses a good ornamental border of interlacing arches, and also occurs once or twice in Shropshire, *e.g.* at Neen Sollars, but at present is not further identified. His date is about 1620—1630. John Palmer is found only at Sandhurst, but there are two founders of that name who are well known in Kent, and appear to have migrated to Canterbury from Gloucester.

Finally we have a very interesting man, probably living at Gloucester, who has a habit, almost unique, of placing the date of the month as well as the year on his bells. They range from 1610 to 1640, and are usually ornamented with

* Whetmore also occurs at Bredon, Worcestershire, with date 1624.

fleurs-de-lys and arabesques. He is found at Abenhall, Elmstone Hardwick, Hartpury, Leigh, Newent, and Stow-on-the-Wold. I have been fortunate enough to identify him from a bell at Throckmorton, Worcestershire, on which he gives his name as Henry Farmer.

In the latter half of the century, overlapping with the Rudhalls, we find founders from several distant localities :—

From Stamford come the 2nd at Woolstone (undated) and the 4th at Churchdown (1678), both by Tobie Norris, whose bells are well known in the Eastern Midlands between 1640 and 1680. Contemporaneous with him is Alexander Rigby, also of Stamford, the unfortunate individual who goaded the ringers of Badgworth almost to insanity; he found a better fate however at Swindon, where one of his bells still remains to justify him with posterity. At Sevenhampton is a solitary instance from another well-known foundry, that of the Chandlers at Drayton Parslow in Bucks; it is dated 1650. Another solitary is the 4th at Elmstone Hardwicke (1675), which may be identified by the trade-mark as belonging to John Martin, the younger, of Worcester (1670—1685). He uses a shield with three bells and initials; his father (1640—1670) uses a heart-shaped shield with one bell.

Two Oxfordshire foundries have contributed a good many bells to the eastern half of the shire, those of the Neales of Burford and the Keenes of Woodstock. The Cors of Aldbourne are represented by a ring at Northleach, and the tenor at Upper Slaughter, whereon one of them has made use of some mediæval Bristol stamps, the capitals and cross as on Woodchester 5th.

From Richard Sanders, of Bromsgrove, about 1700, we have bells at Lemington and Welford, and a large number of bells in the east of the county come from the important foundry of the Bagleys at Chacombe, Northants, near Banbury. They appear to have been formidable rivals of the Rudhalls, and their bells extend over a wide area. The foundry lasted from 1632 to 1771, and was managed by five

different members of the family—two Henrys, William, and two Matthews. The ornamentation on their bells takes the form of very beautiful arabesques, but the inscriptions are not of much interest. CANTATE DOMINO CANTICVM NOVVM, from Ps. 98, is the most popular one of their stock-in-trade.

Two founders who may be connected are Michael Bushell, whose name occurs at Pebworth (1707) with the mark $\overset{\dagger}{\text{I H S}}$ and William Clark, who is found at Hinton (1704), with the same mark, and reproductions of mediæval inscriptions. I have found Bushell at Cropthorne and White Ladies Aston, in Worcestershire, and both occur at Badsey, in that county, and at Newbold Pacey, Warwickshire. Clark has a weakness for the form of puzzle known as a chronogram, in which he conceals the date of the bell, as at Hinton:

ME RENOVAVIT GV CLARK IVSSVBVS DAVI VVARRENI ET PRO VOTIS.

The Roman numerals in this inscription, when added up, amount to MDCLVVVVVVVVVVIIII. = 1704, thus giving the date of the bell. I have found a similar chronogram on a bell at St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, Salop.

From Chepstow we have two founders of the name of Evans, William and Evan (1713—1756); they never betray themselves by name, but use their initials with a bell between. Most of the bells in Bristol are their handiwork. Robert Wells, of Aldbourne, Wilts, has given a few bells to this county; he was working from 1764 to 1793, and was succeeded by James Wells (1800—1825); they are chiefly remarkable for placing their inscriptions on the sound-bow. Finally we have the Bilbies, of Chewstoke, Somerset, from 1740 to 1805, Thomas, Abraham, William, and Thomas; their bells are fairly numerous, but of no great interest.

Having made the circuit of the neighbouring counties, we may now return to the Rudhalls, who may be almost said to

have had a monopoly in the Western and North-Western Midlands from 1684 to 1835. Nearly all the more important rings in these counties are their handiwork, and they practically swept the field in Cheshire, Salop, and Hereford; while their bells may be found as far apart as Aberystwith, Southwark, Lancaster, Lincoln, and Cornwall. In Gloucestershire alone there are no less than 675 of their bells—more than one-third of the total number in the county—and altogether they are said to have cast no less than 4,521 church bells. These figures speak for themselves, and there is no need to dwell more on the excellence of their handiwork.

I should like to be able to say the same of their inscriptions; but it must be remembered that they lived in the age of which the watchword was "Church and State," and they are hardly to blame if we are somewhat wearied with the perpetual iteration of GOD SAVE THE KING, PROSPERITY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, PROSPERITY TO ALL MY BENEFACTORS, and such-like sentiments.

As I have no more to say about them beyond what may be found in Mr. Ellacombe's book, and as they have now brought us down to the nineteenth century, I will conclude with a few words on the changes that have been made during this century in the way of recasting bells that have come to my notice. Fortunately not many mediæval bells have disappeared, but the following now exist only in records, or in a new and unrecognisable form:—

Compton Abdale has now a ring of eight cast in 1880; the old tenor had a Lombardic inscription, and was similar to the Side tenor and Oxenhall 1st.

At Cubberley one of the Royal Head bells was recast in 1870, and the same fate has, I believe, befallen the Royal Head bell at Dyrham.

The old bells at Gretton and Harescombe have both been recast as mentioned above, the former in 1890, the latter in 1884.

The two old bells at Siddington have been replaced by a ring of six by Warner, dated 1879. Mr. Ellacombe gives William Warwick's stop on the 1st, and so it was presumably one of his bells, and similar to the 3rd and 4th at Yate; about the 2nd I can say nothing, as Mr. Ellacombe has given a wrong reference to the numbers in the plates.

Two old bells at Staunton have also disappeared. (See *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, VII., p. 262.)

Finally, there is a new ring of six at Churcham, necessitated by the fire in 1875, and four new bells at Maisemore, two of 1629 having been recast.

I am conscious of many deficiencies in this paper, owing chiefly to the fact that my personal knowledge of the Gloucestershire bells is limited, and that I have had to trust to a great extent to second or third-hand information. Moreover I have had no opportunities of investigating Cathedral and city archives or other documents which might have afforded much valuable information. My aim however has been as far as possible to supply original information on this subject, and I hope this humble contribution to the archæological literature of the county may be found a useful supplement to that monument of an old man's industry, Mr. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Gloucestershire*.

NOTE.—The following interesting information has lately come to my notice respecting the magnificent mediæval bells at St. Mary Redcliff. William Wyrcestre, writing about 1480, gives their weight as follows:—

Maxima campana de Radclyff continet in pondere de lyggeyng wyght septem milia 24 lib.

Secunda campana fere v milia lib. id est IIII. milia et . . .

Tertia campana continet MMMCCCLVII. lib.

Quarta campana ponderat MMCC. lib.

Quinta campana minor continet MDLXX. lib.

Sexta minima campana continet MCCC. lib.

The three heaviest bells are almost precisely the same

weight with the three heaviest bells in the ring cast for St. Paul's Cathedral in 1878.

	REDCLIFF, 1480.			ST. PAUL'S, 1878.			
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	
4.	30	less	3	10. 30	2	22	D
5.	44	2	16	11. 44	2	0	C
6.	62	2	24	12. 62	0	0	B♭

The three smaller bells are very light in comparison with the others, but the second would give a note an octave above the tenor.

The St. Paul's bells are the heaviest ringing peal in the world, and it bears striking testimony to the skill of our bell-founders of four centuries ago that at that time a Bristol tower contained bells of almost exactly the same weight with the three heaviest bells at St. Paul's.

The three St. Paul's bells were given by the Cloth Workers' Company, the Grocers' Company, and the Corporation of London; who gave and cast the Bristol bells we do not know. The fate of these noble bells is also unknown; in 1553 there were six great bells, and one other. The two oldest bells now in the tower, which are also the heaviest, were cast by Thomas Purdue in 1622, and their weights are about 31 cwt. and 52 cwt.

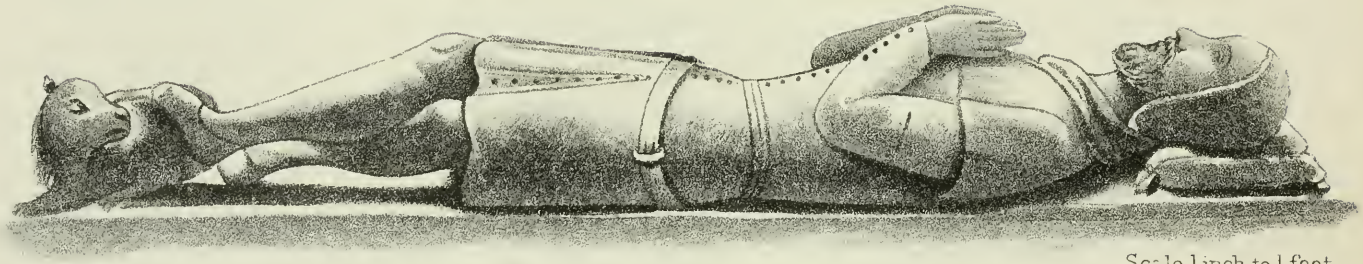
The Rev. E. A. Fuller states that in the Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Book, No. 494, folio 59, *seq.*, among an account of the goods of the recently dissolved Abbey of Cirencester, mention is made of "Bells remayning in the steeple there viii. poiz by estimacon xiiii. m lib. weight, reserved to the use of the Kyng's Majeste." The tenor, therefore, would have weighed about thirty-two cwt.; some three cwt. more than the tenor of the ring of twelve bells now in the tower of the Parish Church. Mr. Fuller also states that there was a ring of eight bells at Winchcombe Abbey which weighed 6,371 lbs. These, however, must have been very light bells, with a tenor weighing barely fifteen cwt. The whole ring weighed less than the tenor at St. Mary Redcliff.

THE DRESS OF CIVILIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGES, FROM MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

BY M. E. BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

Much of the interest in the fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries lies in the life of the great merchants of the towns, or with the frankleins, and country gentlemen, and the stewards of the large landed estates, who were doing the work of the country, while the Lord was away at the wars, or in the Halls of Westminster.

There was a time, beginning in the latter part of the eleventh century, and extending to the close of the fourteenth, when trade was encouraged in every way by Kings and Lords, and grants of privilege were given to the merchants, and charters to their towns, which made them independent of the castle of the Lord on one side, or the neighbouring abbey on the other. From the twelfth century wool had been the great source of English wealth, and almost her only export trade; and it was but natural that statesmen soon devised a means of securing some of the profits for the national exchequer, and introduced in the first half of the thirteenth century the system of the "Staple," which was, I believe, peculiar to England. The staple was an appointed market where alone wool might be sold, and for the first 100 years it was usually at Bruges; but after fruitless efforts on the part of Edward III. to establish the staple in England, it was decided about 1390 that Calais was the most convenient place. To Calais therefore all traders brought their wool, (unless they chose to pay a very large sum as free traders). This centralization of trade made it easy to collect the

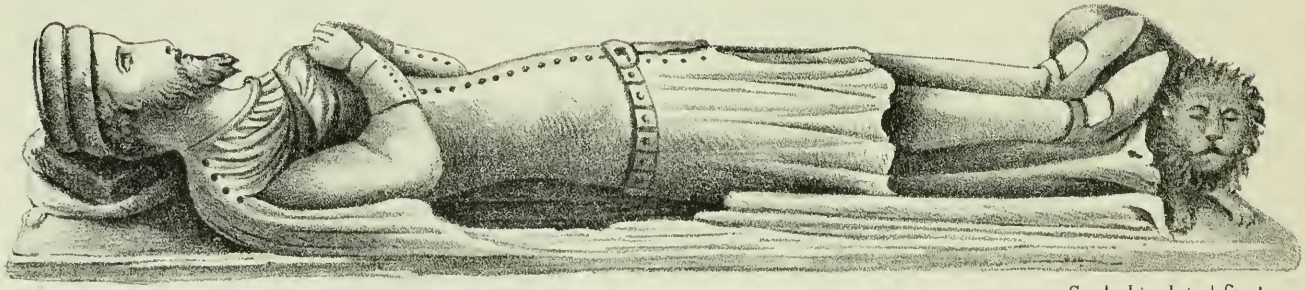


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

WOODEN EFFIGY OF A CIVILIAN 14TH CENTURY.

(Much Marcle, Herefordshire.)

LAVARS & C° LITH. BROAD ST BRISTOL.

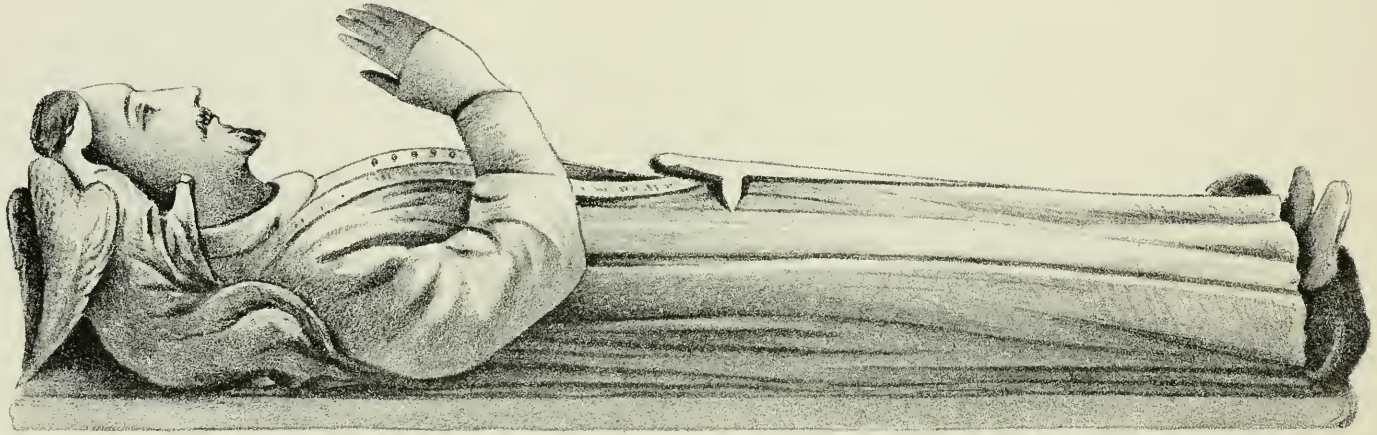


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

EFFIGY OF A CIVILIAN 14TH CENTURY.

(Pembridge Church, Herefordshire.)

LAVARS & C°LITH BROAD ST BRISTOL

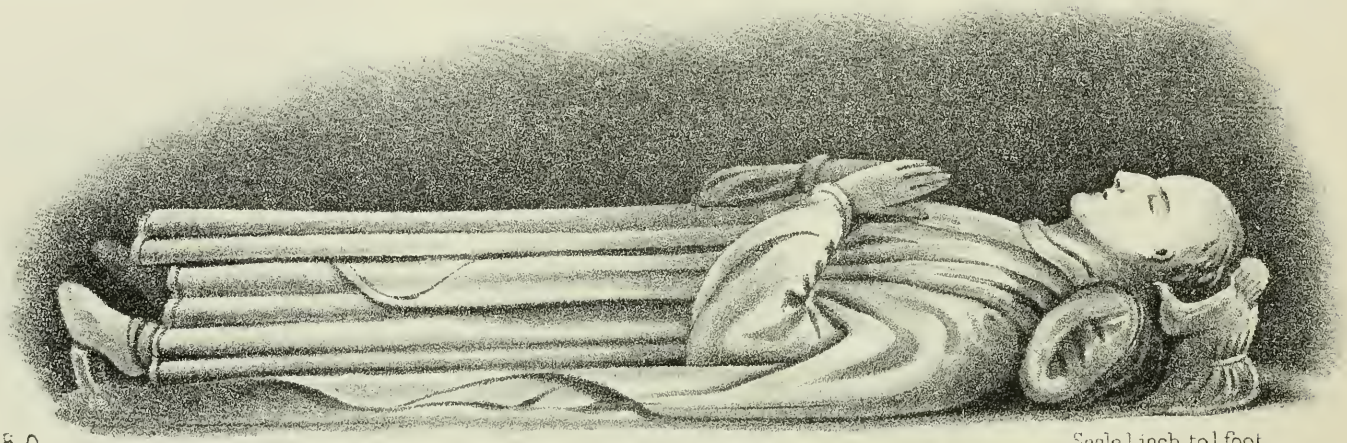


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

WALTER FRAMPTON, MAYOR OF BRISTOL died 1388.

(On his tomb in St John's Church, Bristol.)

LAVARS & Co LITH BROAD St BRISTOL.



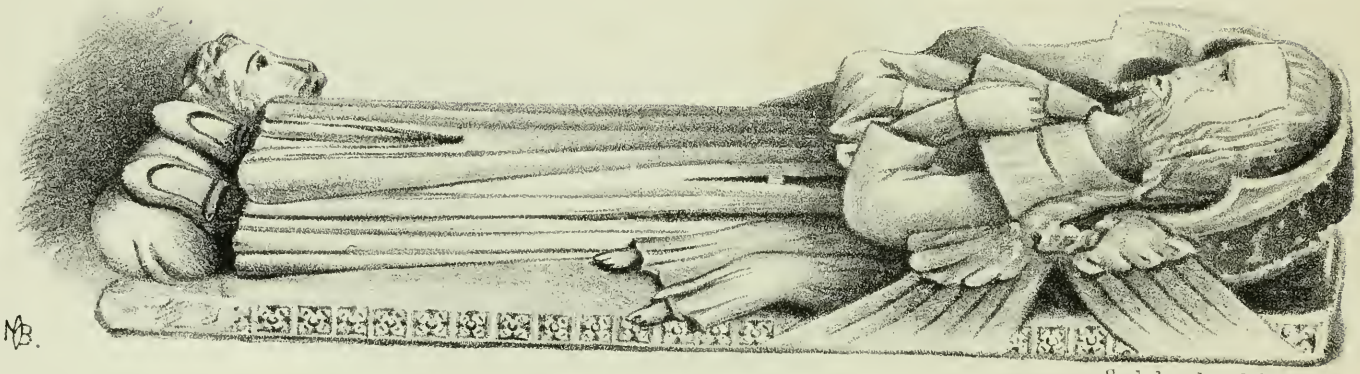
W B.O

Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

WILLIAM CANYNGE, MAYOR OF BRISTOL, died 1475.

(In the Church of S^{t} Mary Redcliffe.)

LAVARS & C^{o} LITH. BROAD S^{t} BRISTOL



Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

EFFIGY OF A MERCHANT.

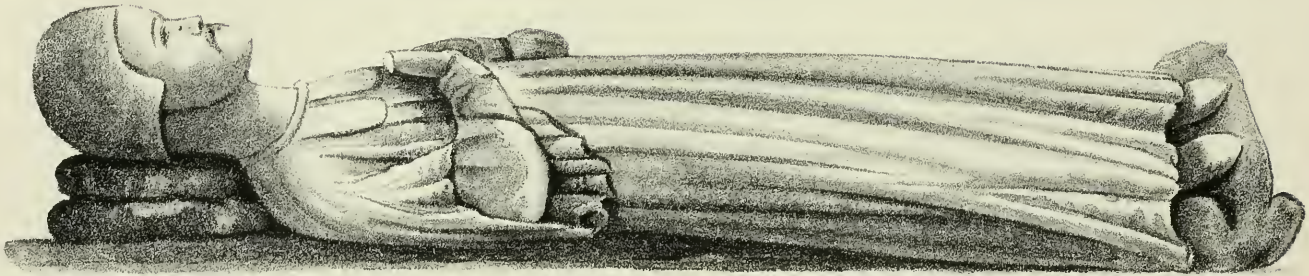
(Against E wall of S Transept Beverley Minster.)

LAVARS & C°LITH BROAD ST BRISTOL

Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

THOMAS MACHEN,
MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER died 1614.
(From his tomb in Cloucester Cathedral.)

LAVARS & SMITH BROAD ST BRISTOL.

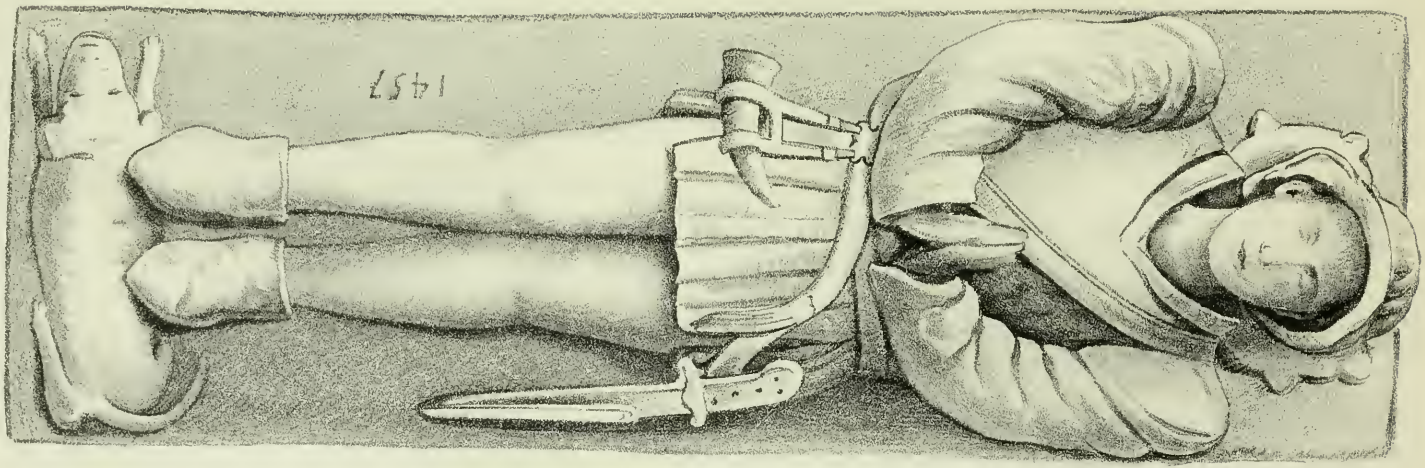


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

SERGEANT AT LAW 14TH CENTURY.

(In Pembridge Church, Herefordshire.)

AVARS & SMITH, BROAD ST. BRISTOL.



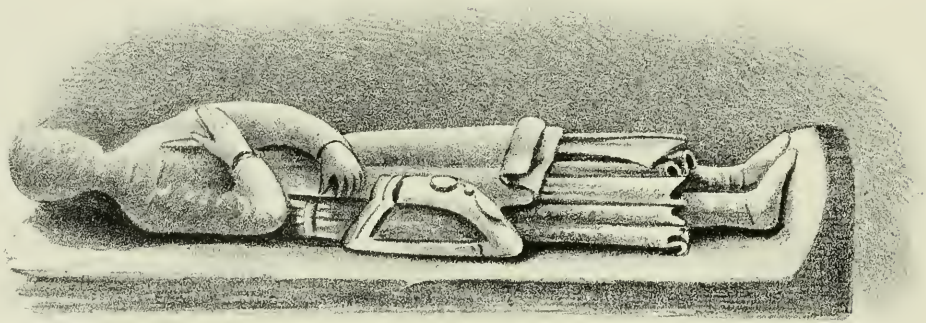
Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

EFFIGY OF JUNKIN WYRALL died 1457.

(In Newland Churchyard.)

Plate VII.

ARS & CO LITH. BROAD ST. BRISTOL.

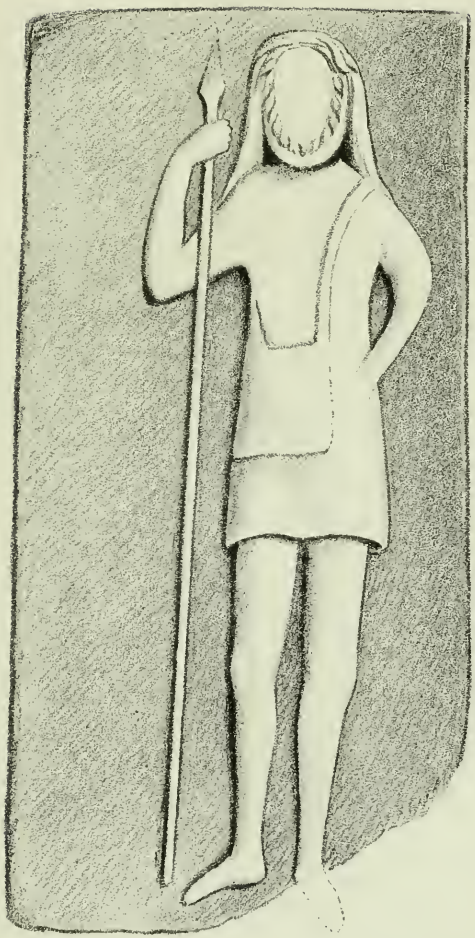


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

EFFIGY OF A MINSTREL OR HARPER.

(Jerpoint Abbey.)

RS & C°LITH BROAD ST BRISTOL



Scale 1 inch to 1 foot.

HUNTSMAN OR LIGHT ARMED WARRIOR.

(Jerpoint Abbey, Ireland.)

Reduced from a rubbing by Canon Newton.

RS & Co LITH BROAD St BRISTOL.

customs, and the power of the staple extended far and wide, and collected together the rich wool growers; who had so complete a monopoly that they could dictate their own prices, and rapidly accumulated large fortunes. It is among these wool merchants, and the frankleins or squires, whose flocks were producing the wool at home, that we find the originals of the earliest monumental effigies of civilians; but before the long reign of Edward III. was over, a great change was taking place in the trade of England, and she was fast becoming a manufacturing country. Weaving was more and more practised, and farmers found that they could sell their wool at home, without the trouble and expense of sending it away. Coarse cloth had been made in England for many years previously, and Bristol and some of the towns in Gloucestershire seem to have been much engaged in the business; but it is not till the early years of the fifteenth century that we read of the manufacture of broadcloth, which from that time became the chief article of commerce in England. Beside the wool merchants and clothiers, there were other successful traders—the vintners of the great ports, whose Malmsey and Malvoisie were greatly in request; the iron-makers of the Forest of Dean and other places, whose "forgæ errantes" supplied the material for bolts of steel and costly suits of armour; the numerous trade guilds; the Merchant Venturers, whose navies were carrying goods over the known world. These men were not only making their own fortunes, but were doing works of charity and education, which in earlier days had been done almost exclusively by the Monastic Orders; and noble churches, almshouses, and schools scattered over the length and breadth of the land bear witness to their princely liberality. These men were not gentle, nor entitled to bear arms, but many earned for themselves an honourable social position, and are well known in history and romance.

A member of the family of De la Pole, a merchant of the port of Ravensper, rose to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in the reign of Edward III., while his son was made by

Richard II. Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor. William Canynge, of Bristol, was another of the great merchants of England, and on his tomb in the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe it is recorded that upon one occasion Edward IV. seized his ships, some of which were 400 to 900 tons, and of an aggregate tonnage of 2,470 tons.

It is said that Gloucestershire may claim the hero of song and story, Dick Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, for he belonged to a family who owned landed property in our county, and the tale of whose success has helped forward many a struggling lad, as he listened to the bells which seemed to tell him of coming prosperity.

Such men were among the greatest patrons of the goldsmith, the painter and the sculptor, and it is not surprising that we find their monumental effigies and sepulchral brasses among the finest examples of the art in the country, while their houses were equal in building and adornment to the unfortified houses of the gentry. Many of our old cities and remote towns retain traces of their residences, some of which have a basement story, arched and groined, formerly used as a storehouse or cellar, and elevating the first floor, so that it was approached from the street by a short and often very handsome staircase. In ancient market places, and on village greens may still be seen the market cross, around which the business of the community was carried on, and old illuminated MSS. and painted windows recall the scene in vivid colours, with the buyers and sellers gathered around in every variety of dress. The fashions of civil costume changed but slowly, and until the middle of the thirteenth century was but little altered from Anglo-Saxon times. It then consisted of a tunic descending to the knees, with long close sleeves, sometimes open at the sides, and encircled at the waist by a belt. Over this was worn a short cloak or mantle, fastened on one or both shoulders by a morse or brooch. Leggings and hose were worn, the latter covered with bands of cloth, crossing each other diagonally, and with a kind of sock, or leather shoe. In the tenth century this dress was much

enriched, but its general character remained unchanged until after the Norman Conquest, when long surcoats and flowing mantles were added, and which must have been extremely inconvenient in any active employment. About the year 1340 civil costume underwent a thorough change. The long coat and surcoat gave place to a tight-fitting tunic with long sleeves, over which was a super-tunic, also tight to the figure, and buttoned or laced from the top to the bottom of the skirt. The sleeves were generally padded, or quilted, and only reached to the elbow, or a little below it, showing the sleeves of the under dress to the wrist. These short garments were considered indecent novelties by the writers of the time, and although the fashion was eagerly adopted by the young and gay, the long garments continued to be worn by the old and sedate, and Mr. Planché considers that it was at this time when the terms "gentlemen of the short robe" and "gentlemen of the long robe" began to be used—the latter to describe judges, sergeants-at-law, and all legal persons, who always retained the long habits. Until the early part of the fifteenth century mantles or cloaks continued to be worn over both styles of dress; but from that time they became the distinctive costume of judges, mayors, and other civic functionaries, and the masters and wardens of city companies and trade guilds and so have continued to the present day with very slight alterations.

In the Church of Much Marcle, Herefordshire, which was visited by our Society last summer (1894), is a curious effigy of a civilian (Plate I.) in the tight-fitting super-tunic, buttoned down the front, and girt with a buckled strap round the hips, from which hangs a small gypciere or purse. He also seems to have a narrow kind of girdle round the waist. His legs are covered with tight hose, and he wears shoes high at the heel and slightly pointed. The sleeves of his tunic and super-tunic are tight, the former buttoned from the wrist to the elbow. Over his shoulder he wears a caputium, the hood of which is worn over his head, as was customary when out of doors in the fourteenth century. He has a long

moustache and divided beard, and his head rests upon a pillow with tassels. The legs of this effigy are crossed, a very unusual arrangement on the figures of civilians. The only other examples with which I am acquainted are at Youlgrave Church, Derbyshire, Birken Church, Yorkshire, and Thurlaston Church, Leicestershire.

It is not necessary nowadays to say that crossed legs have nothing to do with Crusaders. It was a *fashion*, which lasted long after the Crusades, and there are many well-known Crusaders whose legs are *not* crossed upon their monuments. The effigy at Much Marcle is cut out of solid oak, and hollowed out inside. It lies upon a window-sill, which is evidently not its original situation. There is an old story that it used to be carried before the funerals of men as they went from the church to the grave—possibly an oral tradition of the fact that it *was* so carried at the man's own funeral. Mr. O. Morgan, in his account of the monuments in the Priory Church at Abergavenny, page 25, gives a very interesting account of ancient wooden effigies, and of the use and object of their being made of this material. He says:—"It was the custom in early times, on the death of great personages, to prepare an effigy of the deceased to be arrayed like him, and carried in the procession at the state funeral, and the impression on my mind at one time was that wooden effigies were originally prepared for such state ceremony; but the care and pains taken in the sculpture, painting, gilding, and decoration of them is hardly compatible with the haste required in the preparation of a funeral, and I am therefore disposed to think they were designed for more permanent monumental effigies and portraits, and that when from age and cleaning they became shabby, they were removed from their original sites, and either destroyed, or stowed away in some less important situation, and being without name or inscription, it was forgotten whom they represented, and no further interest taken in them. It is evident that these wooden effigies were not chance pieces of work, for there is one peculiarity which pervades them all

wherever they are found, and seems to show they were systematically constructed. They are always made as portraits with their eyes open, and they are always hollow, the block of wood being scooped out. This may have been to render the figures as light as possible when they were moved about, but it was most probably done to prevent the effigy from splitting and cracking. There is no doubt that effigies of deceased persons were usually carried at their funerals, and these seem to have suggested the permanent effigies upon altar tombs."

There could be no scarcity of stone to account for the use of wood in Herefordshire, but in some of the churches in Essex there are wooden effigies of very large size, with slabs 2ft. 4in. in width, and which are so massive and heavy that they would be as unsuitable as stone for moving about; and the scarcity of that material in Essex quite accounts for their production in wood.

An early example of the short tight super-tunic is in St. Mark's, or the Mayor's, Chapel, Bristol. It is popularly ascribed to the first Prior of the Hospital, Sir Henry de Gaunt, but is more probably a franklein or merchant. It is engraved and fully described in the Transactions of our Society, vol. XV., page 91; but I may mention that it is unusual to have the outer dress laced up in front, as it is upon this figure.

In the north aisle of St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, upon a high tomb* under an elegant recessed arch, is an effigy which has been ascribed to Edward Blanket, who founded a chantry, and was buried in that church. He represented Bristol in Parliament 1362, and was related to Thomas Blanket† who came from Flanders, and who is said to have introduced the thick woollen covering for beds which still bears his name.

* This side tomb is divided into six compartments by trefoied niches; each contains a small figure; the spandrils are filled by shields.

† Thomas Blanket was Bailiff of Bristol in 1341 and 1342, and Edmund Blanket served the same office in 1350. Richard Blanket, Chaplain, appears as a witness to a deed dated October 28, 1334, belonging to the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol.—ED.

This effigy has a tunic with tight sleeves buttoned to the wrist, and over it a super-tunic with sleeves which reach a little below the elbow. The outer garment is closely buttoned from the throat to the bottom of the skirt, which falls in folds upon his thighs. He has a falling cape fastened in front by one button, with a hood which stands up like a collar, and would, if used, appear like Plate I. Below his waist he wears a very handsome jewelled belt, which shows him to have been a person of importance and large means, for the sumptuary laws of Edward III. forbid the use of such belts to anyone under the rank of a Knight, unless he was possessed of £200 per annum, a sum which may be considered equivalent to £2,000 at the present time. To this belt is attached an analace, or dagger, on the right side. He has tight hose, shoes long and pointed, high at the heel, and strapped across the instep; his feet rest on a dog. His hair is long, and curled at the ends; his face young, with small moustache; and his head rests on two pillows set diagonally. Such a costume would probably be about the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

A very singular figure remains in Pembridge Church, Herefordshire (Plate II.), but is probably a little later, as the hood is discarded for a cap, which is worn over short curly hair, with the divided peaked beard of Edward III.'s time. He also wears a long cloak or mantle fastened with buttons on his right shoulder and thrown back over his left, his tunic is longer than the last, and his analace is on his left side. This effigy lies by a lady with the square head-dress of Edward III.; and both figures are very beautifully executed, and except the hands are in almost perfect condition. They are evidently not in their original positions, and are lying with others at the west end of the north aisle. There is no record of the persons they are intended to represent, but he was probably a rich franklein or squire, and large wool grower; for Herefordshire was then, as now, a great agricultural county, where very large flocks of sheep were kept.

The fine brasses at Cirencester, Northleach, Deerhurst, &c., give exact representations of merchants and burghers in their long tunics, gowns, &c.; but they have been so ably described by others, that I do not propose to refer to any of them, except one at Cirencester, which is remarkable as it represents a vintner standing upon a wine cask, which is bound round by twisted bands as closely as they can be placed, and covering the whole cask. Above the figure is a shield bearing an almost obliterated escutcheon of arms, somewhat resembling the old arms of the City of Bristol, from which we may conclude that he was connected with that port.*

In the churches of Bristol are many effigies and brasses of merchants in their long civic gowns, and some of which are well authenticated representations of her most distinguished sons.

One of the earliest now lies under a depressed recess in the north wall of the chancel† of St. John the Baptist, and represents Walter Frampton (Plate III.), who either founded, or greatly enriched this church. He was Mayor of Bristol three times—viz., in 1357, 1365, 1374—and represented the city in Parliament in 1362, and again in 1379. He wears a long full tunic buttoned in front nearly to the waist, the sleeves of which are padded, and are short enough to show the sleeves of an under garment; a hood is thrown back round his neck, and an ornamented baldrick hangs over both shoulders, from which is suspended a basilard or small narrow civilian sword, which hangs down perpendicularly below his knees. He wears a small moustache and divided beard, of the style worn in Richard II.'s reign. A large angel holds the right corner of the cushion on which his head rests, his eyes are open, and the placid expression of his face is very beautifully represented. His hands are folded together, and

* See paper by Rev. W. E. Hadow, M A., read at Cirencester, and published in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, Vol. VI., p. 17; also the paper by Rev. E. A. Fuller which follows—"The Register of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Parish Church of Cirencester."

† It is said to have been originally in the centre of the building.

raised from the body; but it is difficult to determine if they are original, as the whole figure has been painted over in a stone colour. Upon the edge of the slab upon which the figure rests is the following inscription:—"Hic jacet Gualterus Frampton huius Ecclesiæ fundator qui Obiit anno Dēi 1388." It lies upon a high tomb adorned with seven square panels, enclosing shields of arms, and it appears to be later than the effigy.

In St. Stephen's Church, in a recess low down in the north wall of the nave, and hidden by seats, is another effigy of a similar character, and with the basilard hanging down in the same manner; and these are the only examples I have ever seen of this fashion of wearing it. This figure is represented with closed eyes as dead, and with the curly hair and divided beard and moustache of Edward III. It is a very well executed effigy, and deserves a better situation. His hands are raised, and partly covered by the long sleeve of the under dress, which is ribbed as if knitted. He has a ring upon the second finger of the right hand. In the book of Bristol Wills two merchants are described as having been buried in this church, either of whom may have been the person here represented:—Walter Tidestelle, Burgess, who died 1385, and John Wyke, who died 1393, but there is no means of identifying him.

In the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, under an arch in the south wall of the south aisle, is the recumbent effigy of William Canynge (Plate IV.), which must have been executed during his lifetime, and probably while he was Mayor of Bristol, for there is in the same church a second effigy of the same William Canynge, representing him as Dean of the College of Westbury, where he retired and took Holy Orders 1467. On his civil monument he wears a long super-tunic edged with narrow fur; it has full sleeves gathered into a narrow band at the wrists, trimmed with fur, and over this he wears his Mayor's gown, which is closed from left to right across the chest, but open down to the feet, and also trimmed with fur. The use of fur by private persons and civic dignitaries was regulated by sumptuary laws, which forbade

anyone "under the rank of knighthood to wear furs or facings of ermine or lettuce, unless they were possessed of lands and tenements to the yearly value of 200 marks, and no knight under the estate of lord might wear any fur of sable. No man with less than £40 might wear any fur of martin," &c.; but it is not possible to decide what fur is intended on these effigies. Two long lappets hang from beneath the gown on Canynge's monument, and reach to his feet; the sleeves are very large, and hang nearly to the bottom of his gown, which is edged with fur like the rest of his dress. A small analace hangs on his right side. Over his left shoulder is thrown his hood or cap, to which is attached a long kind of scarf. This cap became general in the middle of the fifteenth century, and produces an odd effect upon monuments of that time. On the feet are half-boots, open over the instep, and fastened across with a strap; they rest on much mutilated dogs. The features of this effigy are strongly marked, resembling the ecclesiastical figure; the eyes are closed, and hair thrown off the forehead. William Canynge was Mayor of Bristol in 1441 and in four subsequent years; he represented the city in 1451, and again in 1455, and he greatly benefited the magnificent church in which both his effigies lie. He died in 1474.

Not far from William Canynge's effigy is another in somewhat similar dress, but with a gown of different construction. The figure is smaller than usual, and is very coarsely executed. It has been described as Canynge's purse-bearer, probably from the very large purse which he wears, and which shows the manner of its fastening, and attaching to the girdle. Upon brasses a rosary frequently hangs from the girdle, but it is not often seen on stone effigies. The hair of this figure is cut short across the forehead, and is clubbed in the fashion of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. His head rests upon a pillow, held on the right side by a very badly carved, sprawling angel. His feet rest upon a dog which is gnawing a bone.

In the crypt of St. John Baptist is a high tomb with the

effigies of a merchant and his wife. The dress of the former is very similar to those described, but his sleeves are fuller, and at the wrists are small ruffles. His hair is clubbed on the forehead, but hangs long behind.

In Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, is a curious effigy, representing a merchant towards the end of the fifteenth century. His long gown is open in front at the bottom (Plate V.) with pockets on each side. The sleeves are short enough to show under-sleeves, and the hood is indicated by what looks like a double cape. The shoes are very wide at the toes, and fastened across the instep by a strap. His feet rest upon a lion, and an angel with impossible proportions lies at his side. His hair is cut short across the forehead, and hangs in long curls on each side of his face, with curled divided beard and long moustache. The Vicar of Beverley (Rev. H. S. Wolloth) tells me that this effigy is thought to represent a Flemish merchant, and adds: "These merchants lived in what is still known as 'Fleming's Gate,' just east of the Minster, and they built a chapel for the use of their guild in St. Mary's Church." It is in this chapel the monument I have described is lying.*

At the time when the Flemings were the most skilful weavers in Europe, large numbers of them came over to England to escape from the ruin which seemed to threaten them in their own country, and were gladly welcomed by our own manufacturers. At first they were obliged to live in an English household, and were forbidden to sell in retail, besides being under the control of the trade guild of the town in which they lived; but as time went on, they seem to have freed themselves from this kind of restraint, and in 1514 we find that the inhabitants of London complained of the multitudes of foreigners who came over to England, made fortunes here, and returned to their own country to spend them. In some towns the foreigners lived in a quarter to themselves, as at Beverley, and into which the city officers were never

* Mr. Hartshorn, to whom I showed the sketch, tells me there is nothing in the dress to show the man was a foreigner.

admitted. They had their own Courts, and paid their taxes through their own officers; but they gradually became absorbed into the ordinary population, and by intermarriage and other causes were received on the same footing as other merchants.

In the sixteenth century a change took place in civilian dress, and the pendulum of fashion swung then, as it does now, from one extreme to the other. Instead of a tunic and hose fitting like skin, the garments were padded and stuffed in the most ridiculous manner, and though of costly material and magnificent decoration, nothing could give elegance to the outline, or disguise the ugliness of the "peascod-bellied" doublet and accompanying "bombasted breeches," by which the form of the wearer was disguised almost beyond recognition. This dress is familiar to us on that most amusing person "Punch," who has retained it in spite of varying fashions. After the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the padded garments were modified, though still retaining their distinctive character, and the effigy of Thomas Machen, Esq., in Gloucester, is a good example of this period. He was an Alderman and Mayor of the City of Gloucester, and died 1614. (Plate VI.) The monument is coloured, and he is represented in a black velvet doublet, padded and ornamented, and buttoned in front; it is very short, and only comes just below his waist. The sleeves are padded, and have a small frill at the wrist. His breeches are of black velvet, very full and padded, and gathered into a broad band above the knee, where they are tied with a black ribbon edged with lace: round his neck he wears a very wide thick ruff. Over his black suit he wears "the robe of clean scarlet," suitable to his civic dignity, with short sleeves, and a tippet hanging at the back. The neck and sleeves and tippet are edged with narrow brown fur, and the front, which falls open, is edged with a band of wide fur.

There are many other late effigies of civic dignitaries in the cathedral and different churches of Gloucester. The monument to Alderman Blackleach and his wife in the cathedral (1616) is one of the finest of its kind in the kingdom,

and the dress in all its elaborate details is represented with most minute accuracy and artistic skill. The costume of this period is so well known that it is not necessary to allude to it further, and many costly monuments in marble and alabaster exist in all parts of England.

There are a few effigies of civilians which are probably neither frankleins nor merchants, and which are interesting as showing the costume of different conditions of life at an early period. Although many brasses represent members of the legal profession, there are few stone effigies which can be attributed to them. But one of these lies near the west end of the north aisle of Pembridge Church, Herefordshire, and probably represents a sergeant-at-law (Plate VII.), for the costume is almost identical with that upon the brass of Thomas Golf in Gosfield Church, Essex, which has an inscription describing him as a sergeant-at-law, who died A.D. 1439. The Pembridge effigy appears earlier, and the wimple and long flowing dress of the lady by his side are of the fourteenth century; and both figures are evidently by the same hand, though on separate slabs. The sergeant-at-law is clothed in a full gown reaching to the feet, with full sleeves which hang below his elbow; below these are the sleeves of his tunic and super-tunic. The gown is gathered into a narrow band at the throat, from which hang two falling labels or bands, which were part of the legal dress. His head is covered by a coif or cap tied under his chin, a common head-gear at one time, but which, after the reign of Henry III., became a distinctive portion of the legal costume, and has descended to the present time in a diminished form, appearing as a small patch on the wigs of judges, sergeants-at-law, &c. After the reign of Henry VI., the coif was no longer tied under the chin.

The head of the Pembridge effigy rests upon two cushions set the same way, and his feet rest on some animal. His hair is entirely hidden by his coif; he has no beard, but wears a small moustache. There is no record of whom it is intended to represent, and neither of the effigies are in their

original positions. In an uncoloured monument we have no means of judging if the gown is the "medley coat" described by Chaucer; but in coloured MSS. of this early period, sergeants-at-law and other legal personages are represented in cloaks or gowns of blue, striped with red and other colours, which must have had a most extraordinary appearance.

HUNTING COSTUME.

The effigy of Junk Wyrall (Plate VIII.), which lies on a high tomb on the N.E. of Newland Churchyard, is one of the few figures represented upon a monument in hunting costume. He is clothed in a loose tunic or *jupon*, and a small portion of an inner garment appears at the neck. The tunic has full sleeves, and a short skirt, which is slit up at the sides, and must have been put on over the head, as there is no opening down the breast. He wears trunk hose, fitting closely to the legs, and low boots, which are open at the ankles on the outside and not on the inside. He carries a hunting horn of the usual shape, slung by a double strap to his belt on the right side, while on his left another strap carries his hanger or hunting sword, to the scabbard of which is attached a smaller one containing his knife or *couteau de chasse*. Over his left shoulder is a baudrick, which is united to his belt just above the place where the horn hangs. He wears a very peculiar cap, folded in plaits, and tied together at the back by a ribbon or strap; it hangs down over the pillow on which the head rests. His feet rest upon a brache or hunting-dog. The inscription, which is partly obliterated, is in English as follows:—"Here lyeth Junk Wyrall forster of fee the whych dysesed on the VIII day of Synt Lauroc the yere of oure lord MCCCC(LVII) on hys soule god have (mercy. Amen)." The date 1457 is cut in old and rude figures on the top of the slab, probably when the inscription was still legible. "The VIII day of St. Laurence" (or the octave) is August 18. "Forester of Fee" signified that Junken and all the heads of the house of Wyrall had a perpetual right of tenary in the Royal Forest of Dean, rendering for the said right, perpetual service,

and acknowledging superiority to the Crown, and paying to the Crown a certain fee-farm or rent for the same. The family of Wyrall was descended from Matthew, High-Sheriff of Gloucestershire 1259-60-61, and it became extinct in the last century.* It is much to be regretted that this very curious effigy is lying without any protection from wind and weather. It has suffered very much during the last few years, and will be seriously damaged unless protected very speedily.

An effigy in Youlgrave Court, Derbyshire, has been described by the late Mr. Bloxam as that of a forester or borderer in his hunting dress, but without his hood. It is one of the rare examples of a cross-legged effigy of a civilian before referred to, and is a very roughly executed piece of work. His short super-tunic is cut open to allow freedom of movement, and is girt with a narrow and almost invisible belt, over which the upper part of his tunic hangs loosely. From this belt hangs a short and rather heavy hunting sword. The sleeves of the super-tunic are pointed, and hang from the elbow, a fashion which was carried to an absurd extent; below these are the sleeves of the tunic, but the work is too rough to show any details. His legs are in tight hose; broad-toed shoes with straps for spurs, and feet resting on an animal. He holds a heart between his hands, which are folded against his breast. His hair is long, with neither beard nor moustache, and his head rests on two pillows set diagonally.

On a high tomb in the chancel of Jerpoint Abbey, near Kilkenny, Ireland (Plate X.), is a figure in very low relief, which represents a huntsman, or light-armed warrior. Canon Hewson considers it the former, as a strap across the breast of the figure carries a bag for the game. It has been suggested that a game bag (from Gibier *game*) was the original form of the bag, or Gipiciere or purse, which is so often seen hanging from the belt of civilians, particularly on

* From a description of the effigy by Sir Henry Dryden in *L'art de Venerie par Guyllame Twici*, p. 64.

their monumental brasses. This Irish form of bag is interesting, as being almost identical with the very ancient bags or satchels in which the Celtic Monks carried their precious books, some of which still exist in museums and libraries.

The figure at Jerpoint wears a short tunic with the skirt above his knees, the sleeves of which are tight. Over his head he has a kind of hood, which fits closely round his face and hangs over his shoulders. The features are gone, but his curly hair shows under the hood, and a beard all round his face is represented in a peculiar manner. His legs and feet are in tight hose (only one foot remains). Round the slab was an inscription in rude Lombardic letters, but it is so much defaced that the only letters which can be traced are HIC JACET . . . UI. . . . CCUS . . MCCC. The prefix UI. before the name shows him to have been an Irish chieftain.

Upon the S.E. side of Newland Churchyard is an incised slab with the figure of a man carrying a bow and arrows ready for the chase. It doubtless commemorates some member of the family of de Wyrall, as the office of "Bow-bearer to the King," and Chief "Forester of Fee" continued with them till the family became extinct in the last century.* "Their duty was to attend his Majesty with a bow and arrows, and six men clothed in green, whenever his Majesty shall be pleased to hunt within the said Forest." He is dressed in jerkin or doublet buttoned in front, and girt round the waist with a belt, with long tight sleeves, slightly puffed at the shoulder, and he has falling bands (or a collar) of the kind, which came into fashion very early in the seventeenth century. His breeches are stuffed, but less so than in the sixteenth century, and they are fastened at the knees with ribbons; tight stockings, with shoes cut low and slightly pointed at the toe, of the kind which superseded the broad toes of the Tudor period. His hat is the low-crowned, broad-

* In 1787 Charles Edwin, Esq., was Chief Forester in Fee and Bow-bearer. Nichol, 200.

brimmed, slouching hat of the middle or latter half of the seventeenth century, and has an ornamented band round the crown.

He carries in his left hand a longbow, ready strung; in his right he holds an arrow, and a spare one is stuck into his belt. These weapons, though now only used for sport, were once the most formidable weapons of the English Infantry, and probably the most ancient weapon in the world. Even as late as the time of Queen Elizabeth it was said, "None other weapon can compare with this noble weapon," and Charles I. granted a commission under the Great Seal enforcing the use of the longbow. This very curious monument is being rapidly effaced; lichen and moss grow upon it, and no care whatever is taken to preserve it.

PILGRIM.

In the Parish Church of Haverfordwest lies an effigy in the garb of a pilgrim, which is very unusual, the only other example I know of being in the Church of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, in Leicestershire. From Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims it is to be inferred that no peculiar garb was worn by pilgrims in this country. Such, however, was not the case with regard to those proceeding from this country on pilgrimages abroad, when a greater solemnity was observed. The outer gown worn appears to have been "the *sclavine*," or pilgrim's robe, which upon the Haverfordwest effigy reaches nearly to the ankles, and is somewhat like a long super-tunic, the skirt of which is open in front a short distance upwards; the sleeves are long and tight, and in consequence of injury to both arms, it is impossible to say if they reached down to the waist. Under the right elbow is a portion of the *bourdon*, or pilgrim's staff, while on the left of the effigy appears the pilgrim's wallet or scrip, suspended by a strap over the left shoulder. On the front of this scrip are three scallop-shells, which denoted the fact that this pilgrim had visited the shrine of St. James of Compostella, as all the most noted places of pilgrimage had each their peculiar sign, which was attached

to some portion of the pilgrim's apparel on their return. The head, which is mutilated, rests on two pillows,—the under one square, the upper lozenge shaped. From the shape of the slab—a parallelogram—on which the effigy reposes, I should imagine this to be a monument of the fifteenth century.*

In the disused portion of the Church at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, there is an effigy in a similar gown, only a little longer, but instead of a pilgrim's scrip he holds in one hand a bag or soft purse. His hair is long and curled at the end, in the fashion of the fourteenth century, and his feet, like the last described, are separate and do not rest against anything. I am unable to say if this is also a pilgrim, but it has the rare advantage of a legible inscription:—"Willm Rhchllo gyt ici Dieu de sa alme eyt merci," and it lies under an elegant decorated arch.†

HARPER.

There is an unique effigy of a harper (Plate IX.), or a minstrel, at Jerpoint Abbey, Ireland. It is small in size, only about five feet long, but it lies with a female figure upon a very handsome high tomb, the sides of which are ornamented with figures of Saints and Apostles under richly moulded canopies in the Decorated style. The figures are terribly mutilated, and all that remains of the inscription is "Hic jacet Willmus," and fragments of the next three letters. The harper is clothed in a very full garment, which reaches above his ankles, and which is open in front and turned back; it is gathered into the waist by a small waistband or strap, from which probably is suspended the harp, of the ancient Irish form, which lies by his right side. Over this tunic he has a very curious upper garment, apparently a cyclas, it is, cut up at the sides to above the arms, and reaching

* From a paper by the late M. Bloxam.

† At first I thought it was one of Minor Orders, but I am told by those who have had an opportunity of examining the head that there is no tonsure. When I sketched it, the top of the head could not be got at.

below his knees; here it is turned back, and returned in a peculiar way. It is not easy to assign a date to this figure. The tomb it lies upon is of the Decorated style, but the monuments at Jerpoint have been "arranged" within the last few years, and the figure is so much mutilated, it may not be the one for which it was intended, added to which the costume on Irish effigies varies somewhat from those in England, and fashions continued on for some time longer there than with us. Mr. Hartshorne, to whom I sent my sketch, considers it *may* be as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.

MINER.

There is an example of costume on a brass in Newland Church, which, though scarcely within my subject, is so curious, I may be allowed to describe it. It represents an iron-miner of the fifteenth or sixteenth century fully equipped for his work. Upon his head is a low-crowned cap, and he holds his candle stuck upon a stick in his mouth. In his right hand he has a small pick-axe to loosen the soil, and with his left he holds a strap, to which is fastened his wooden hod for carrying the mineral. He has a short tunic, slit up at the sides, with a wide belt round his waist, rather wide sleeves down to his wrist. His breeches are fastened by ties just below the knee, and he seems to be wearing stockings, but his feet are concealed by the wreath upon the helmet above which this curious figure is placed as a crest,* which probably belonged to one of the Baynham family, who chose to represent himself as a "Free Miner" of the Forest of Dean. These Free Miners had, and still have, the sole right to work the minerals of the Forest, and have their own Court and privileges. It is said they obtained this right in 1300, when they were summoned with the Bowmen of the Forest to serve at the siege of Berwick, and on their return home were thus rewarded by the King.†

* See plate, p. 343, Vol. VI., *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*.

† Nichol's *Forest of Dean*, p. 15.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

By Rev. S. BENTLEY, M.A.,

Vicar of Bosbury, Herefordshire.

The subject which I have been requested to bring before you on the present occasion is, from many points of view, full of great interest. No one who is acquainted with the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can fail to note the influential position which the Knights Templars occupied during that eventful period. The number of the members of that gallant fraternity, their vast possessions, their bravery, and the object which they sought to attain, served to call forth an unusual amount of enthusiasm, and to make them a considerable power in the affairs of Europe and the East. In the time allowed me I cannot hope to do more than briefly to speak of the circumstances which called the Templars into existence, and of the constitution and rules which governed them. The mention of some of the principal events in the chequered history of these brave men, and a short account of the suppression of the Order, will, of course, follow; but I must leave to others who have leisure and inclination to tell the tale of the various expeditions and conflicts in which from time to time they were engaged.

In order clearly to understand the aim and position of the Knights Templars, it will be well to look at the condition of the Holy Land both before and at the time of their institution.

It appears that after the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, A.D. 71, a considerable number of Christians for about fifty years continued to live peaceably in the city. No attempt was made for its recovery and deliver-

ance from the Roman yoke until the later years of the reign of Trajan, when a number of Jewish insurgents were led into Palestine from Egypt for this purpose, but only to encounter a speedy defeat. In the reign of Hadrian, however, an insurrection of a formidable character took place, which was not quelled until after many lives had been sacrificed. Indeed, it appears that at this period it was so extremely difficult to keep the Jews in Jerusalem in subjection that the Emperor formed a plan for the restoration of the Holy City in order to prevent it from becoming a rallying-point and centre of intrigue. But no actual attempt was made to effect this purpose, and Hadrian left the East A.D. 132.

Not long after a widespread conspiracy was entered into by the Jews in Palestine, headed by one Bar Cocheba, which was so popular, and their leader so favourably regarded, that he is said to have been crowned king, and hailed as the long-expected Messiah. The possession of Jerusalem was obtained, and an attempt actually made to rebuild the Temple. So fully alive was the Emperor to the formidable nature of this revolt, that he summoned his greatest general from Britain to command the army in Judea and suppress the insurrection. Two years were spent in the undertaking. The rising was unsuccessful, and Bar Cocheba slain. The sacrifice of life, however, was very great, more than half a million of the insurgents being slain, and the loss on the part of the Romans was not much less. Bar Cocheba left proofs of his occupation of Jerusalem by the coins which were struck during his usurpation.

As a consequence of this revolt, Hadrian now determined not to restore, as on a former occasion, but altogether to blot out Jerusalem from the face of the earth. The ruins of the Holy City which remained after the siege were almost entirely destroyed, and the plough was passed over the ruins of the Temple. A statue of the Emperor was placed on the site of the Holy of Holies, and another of Jupiter was erected on that of the Temple. A new name was given to the city (Ælia Capitolina). Christians and pagans were

allowed to live in it, but Jews were forbidden even to enter on pain of death.

In the fourth and fifth centuries pilgrims were drawn to Jerusalem from all parts of the world, for on the accession and conversion of the Emperor Constantine a brighter day seemed to be dawning on the Christians in the East. The Empress Helena, his aged mother, visited Jerusalem (A.D. 326), and ordered the statue of Jupiter to be removed. She is said also to have built churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. The Emperor Justinian (A.D. 528) built a church of some magnificence in Jerusalem in honour of the Blessed Virgin; the empress is also credited with having founded several monasteries, and in A.D. 590 Pope Gregory the Great endowed a hospital for pilgrims.

In all ages of the Church up to the time of the Reformation pilgrimages were held in high repute. It has been well said that they became "the ruling passion of the devout;" the spiritual benefits they were believed to confer, the opportunities of change and intercourse with others which they afforded, and the spirit of romance which they kindled, rendered them highly popular. S. Augustine tells us that in his time the whole world flocked to Bethlehem to see the place of our Lord's nativity, and that the burial-place of S. Stephen attracted great multitudes. S. Chrysostom also says that the tombs of the Apostles were frequented by a host of visitors, while those of the mightiest emperors and kings were deserted and silent. Pilgrimages in the Middle Ages were very common; indeed, there was a constant flow. In this country we know that for 300 years pilgrimages to the shrine of Thomas à Becket of Canterbury were quite an English institution, and many of us remember how graphically they have been described by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*.

The rest, however, of the period of which I have been speaking was rudely broken in A.D. 614, when the dwellers in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood had to undergo first the Persian and soon after the Mohammedan invasions. The Persian army first captured Antioch and Damascus, and then

took Jerusalem, after great loss of life. Churches were destroyed, and the Holy Sepulchre was partly burnt. But after a struggle lasting for about the space of fourteen years, the Roman army was again victorious, and the Emperor entered Jerusalem in triumph.

The Mohammedan invasion of Palestine soon followed, when the followers of that remarkable man Mohammed, the founder of a religion, and one who has left an indelible mark in the world's history, swept over the whole country, and subjugated it to their yoke. At first the Christians were treated with forbearance, but the time soon came when a wholly different state of things arose. At one period Mohammed meditated the selection of Jerusalem as the sacred city of his sect, and recent fanatical converts to his faith speedily made the condition of the Christians and of pilgrims to the Holy Land hard and grievous to be borne. Hence arose what are called the Crusades, which, as you know, were a series of expeditions, extending over several centuries, for the recovery of the Holy Places from the hands of the unbeliever.

For a long time before any actual Crusade was started there had been an earnest feeling amongst Christians that the land which had been visited by our Blessed Lord in the days of His flesh, the very place where He was born, the streets which He had trod, the hill on which He was crucified, the spot where His sacred body had lain, and the mount from which He ascended, ought not to be in the possession of those who were deniers of the incarnation of the Saviour of mankind. Moreover, the insult and scorn which pilgrims to the Holy Land had to bear, indeed, the lamentable treatment to which they had been subject, and to which on their return home they bore witness, were sufficient to kindle in the heart of Christendom a longing desire, and at last a stern resolve, to rescue the Holy Places. Hence the first Crusade, set on foot by Peter the Hermit. He it was who strengthened the desire and moved men to engage in this great work. Having been himself an eyewitness of the indignities to which the

Christians had been subjected, he soon gathered around him multitudes who were willing to engage in an armed pilgrimage, and to join in delivering the Holy Land from the hand of the infidel. At Peter's bidding those who joined him had a cross sewn upon the right shoulder of their outer garment, as a token that they were Christ's soldiers pledged to this holy warfare.

This Crusade received high Papal sanction at a council at Clermont in 1095. The Pope (Urban II.), doubtless glad of the opportunity of extending the supremacy of Rome, and evidently a man of strong and earnest feeling, placed himself at the head of this great movement. He spoke at the council of the cruelty, the licentiousness, the sacrilege of the Turks, dwelt on the sanctity of the Land of Promise, the land of which the history had been recorded in both the Old and New Testaments, and of which the foul infidels were now the lords. The holy Temple had become not only a den of thieves, but a dwelling-place of devils. He offered absolution without penance to all who would take up arms in this sacred cause, and he promised eternal life to all who should suffer the glorious calamity of death in the Holy Land, or even on the way to it, and that the Crusader should pass at once to Paradise. The intense eagerness to take part in this armed pilgrimage soon knew no bounds, and France took the lead. Men who had been profane, sacrilegious, impure, given over to all kinds of licentiousness and crime, were suddenly stirred to better things, to lead higher and nobler lives, and to join the Crusade. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that all who joined the expedition were not actuated by the same high purpose. Many went who were unwilling to be left behind—some out of the love of mere adventure; others hoped to find wealth and position in the East. All helped to swell the number of the great army, but it must be confessed that many were far from being faithful soldiers and servants of Christ. The word "saunterer" leads to this conclusion: it originally meant one who visits the Holy Land —"la sainte terre." But by degrees pilgrimages to the East

degenerated into a mere fashion and pastime. Many, indeed, who called themselves pilgrims never set out. Then the word came to mean little more than a person who idled through life with no fixed aim or purpose.

On August 15, 1096, Peter the Hermit, though a priest, was made the general of the great army, which was joined by Hugh, brother of the King of France, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, the Count of Flanders, Raymond, Count Tholouse, and Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Loraine, and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, with a number of others of high repute. They purposed to meet, though proceeding by different ways, at Constantinople. The renowned Godfrey de Bouillon started with 10,000 horse and 70,000 foot. Nice was first surrendered to him, after a six weeks' siege; he then marched into Syria and took Antioch. Jerusalem was occupied on July 15, 1099, and Godfrey chosen King. We are told that he refused to wear a golden crown in the city in which his Lord had worn one of thorns. Ascalon was soon taken: indeed, so successful was this first expedition that the great work which the Crusaders had bound themselves to perform was considered to be accomplished.

It was not long, however, before another Crusade became necessary. Dissensions within, and disturbances from without from the Mohammedans, and the utter instability of the kingdom which had been set up, brought about a second Crusade, and called into existence the Knights Templars, of whom it is now time that I should more particularly speak.

The institution of the Order of Knights Templars dates from the year 1118, shortly after the success of the first Crusade. It was wholly of French origin, the first members of the fraternity being nine French knights, Hugo de Payens, Godfrey de S. Omer, Raoul, Godfrey Bisol, Pagans de Montdidier, Archembold de S. Aman, Andrew, Gondomar, and Hugh, Count of Provence. So humble was their origin, that on their seals they are represented as two knights sitting on one horse. As "poor soldiers of Jesus Christ," their object was the defence of the Holy Sepulchre and the

protection of the Christian pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. Baldwin, the King of Jerusalem at that time, gave them a habitation near the Temple—hence their name. Their complete organization consisted of the Grand Master, the Knights, the Chaplains or Priests, and the serving-brethren. The Grand Master ranked as a sovereign prince, and in the councils of the Church had this precedence given him. In the affairs, however, of the fraternity his power seems to have been very limited. The Knights were to be of noble or gentle birth. The Priests, who by Papal license possessed wider powers of absolution than an ordinary priest, accompanied the Knights and brethren, and ministered to their spiritual needs. The serving-brethren, as their name implies, acted as attendants both in the field and in the preceptories. At the Council of Troyes, in 1128, the Order obtained Papal sanction. Paris was the head-quarters, but a Grand Prior was appointed for each country, who was summoned by the Grand Master to attend at Paris when occasions or circumstances arose which required deliberation or settlement. The Templars were a half-military and half-monastic order, and the whole body of Knights and brethren were united and animated by the closest corporate spirit, and under very severe discipline. S. Bernard of Clairvaux at this period was highly esteemed, and had great influence, and if he did not actually frame the rules of life which governed the Templars, his certainly was the inspiration which moulded and settled them. Vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience were required of the members, and all personal property had to be given up. They were enjoined to live frugally, never to be idle, nor to indulge in insolent expressions or even immoderate laughter, and the least murmur was visited with severe correction. The original number of nine soon increased to 15,000, who were some of the best disciplined soldiers that could anywhere be found, were equipped in the most finished manner of the time, and ready at the call of the Grand Master to go anywhere or engage in any service to which he might call them.

Popes and kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries granted numerous privileges and exemptions to the Templars. Pope Alexander III., in the great charter which he issued, confirmed them in their possessions and liberties, gave rights of sanctuary in their churches, and ordered that no one should annoy, insult, or injure them; that such as struck or wounded them should be excommunicated, and that no prelate should demand hospitality of them as of right. As time rolled on, the faithful in all parts of Christendom enriched them with large endowments of land and money, and thus they became a very wealthy and powerful fraternity.

From A.D. 1095 to A.D. 1291 there were no less than eight separate Crusades, in the last seven of which the Templars took part. Richard I. joined the third. All these expeditions met with an alternation of hopeful successes and humiliating defeats, but all at last ended in complete failure. It would be tedious to enumerate the sad list of events which from time to time happened. Suffice it here to say that Palestine was at last left in the hands of its Mohammedan oppressors; pilgrims were outraged and insulted as before; and, after centuries of severe toil and an immense sacrifice of human life (estimated at six millions), no progress had really been made in rescuing the Holy Land from the possession of the infidel.

Let us return to the Templars, and see the circumstances which brought about their untimely end. It has been generally held by writers on the subject that their suppression need be no matter for surprise, seeing that they were guilty not only of great avarice, pride, and licentious living, but also of most atrocious crimes. Celebrated writers in France and Germany speak of them as a "corrupt association," as unfaithful to their vows, and, consequently, as holding a very low place in public estimation. That out of so large and mixed a body of men a few, perhaps many, fell lamentably short of the high standard set before them is neither more nor less than what any reasonable man might expect. But

that they were guilty of the things laid to their charge in the measure and degree imputed to them cannot be maintained in the face of much information which has lately been brought to light. It should also be remembered that the cruel author of the suppression—he who was the sanctioner and abettor of the manner in which it was done—was in a position and surrounded by circumstances which made such a mournful tragedy a means of relief from the difficulty in which he was placed.

Philip IV. ("the Fair," as he is called), King of France at this time, was a cruel and unscrupulous man, though simulating much zeal for the Church and in the cause of freedom. At this period the finances of the kingdom were in a most embarrassed condition, and no means of relief seemed at hand; taxation had reached its limit, and in consequence of the war (in Flanders) in which Philip was engaged, his designs and political schemes seemed on the point of becoming failures altogether. Bankers, and brokers, and Jews had all been stripped, and whither to turn he knew not. The riches of the Templars occurred to him. If the Order were suppressed, and its riches appropriated by him, a solution—at any rate, to a certain extent—of the difficult problem he had to solve was at hand. So it was; and this has generally been believed to be the motive which prompted the King to the act, and all that followed serves only to confirm the truth of the imputation.

For the commission of so atrocious an act some excuse must be found, and this was not far to seek. The Templars must be accused and convicted of heinous crimes. And so, at a meeting held at Lyons in 1305 between Philip and the Pope (Clement V.), the King asserted that the Order of Knights Templars was utterly corrupted, and full of abuses of the worst kind. At this first interview the Pope refused to believe the charge, and declined to sanction any proceedings against them. But Philip was bent on carrying out his infamous purpose, and to this end, in 1308, had two more interviews with Clement. At the second of these he took

with him the most notable men in Church and State, and in the name of a large popular assembly held at Tours declared that their prosecution was a matter of supreme importance to his kingdom. The Pope was very much the creature of the King. At one time he was a subject of Philip, and as Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, owed his elevation to the Papal throne to his intrigues. It has even been said on good authority that one of the promises which he made to the King on his election was a consent to the suppression of the Templars. The Cardinals at this time were for the most part Frenchmen, so that all seemed to favour the King's design. After some hesitation, for the Order had from time to time been favoured and protected by Papal authority, Clement was induced reluctantly to yield to the pressure put upon him, and to submit to the wishes of the King.

The charges brought against them were very many, involving the commission of crimes and offences of the most atrocious kind, and no time was lost in arresting and bringing them to trial. On the night of October 13, 1307, in compliance with the King's orders, every house of the Templars in France was suddenly surrounded by a body of soldiers, and all the Knights and brethren were taken prisoners. Sealed instructions had been given to the high officers of the realm, which were not to be opened until this eventful night. The instructions were to seize and commit to custody the Templars, to put the royal seal on all their goods, and to make an inventory of them. The King's orders were obeyed; there was no resistance, and no attempt at flight. The members of this high-born and gallant fraternity were dragged forth to prison, confiding, doubtless, in their innocence of the charges made against them. The Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, and the other Knights in Paris were arrested and confined in separate dungeons, and the stately mansion in Paris, the head-quarters of the Order, and which had once been a place of refuge for Philip, was taken possession of by his officers. It is said that every Templar in the realm of France was a prisoner.

France at this time was subject to the Inquisition, that cruel and tyrannical tribunal, which had the power to enforce its laws with the utmost severity. One of its foremost laws was that "every one was bound in conscience, under pain of excommunication, to give information of anything whatsoever of an heretical nature in word or deed that came under his notice, even if the circumstances were such as merely to rouse suspicion. For a man to neglect to do so was at once to draw suspicion on himself, and to render himself liable to excommunication."

The Inquisitor-General was William of Paris, Philip's confessor, and the inquisitors were in the pay of the King. It is easy to note the chain of circumstances which led to the conviction and suppression of the Order. Indeed, as Dr. Döllinger remarks, "the annihilation of the Templars could never have been accomplished but with the help of the Inquisition and of the statutory powers at its disposal."

Let us glance, in passing, at the state of things in England while this foul conspiracy was being carried on in France.

In 1307 Philip wrote to his son-in-law, King Edward II., and informed him of the abominable heresies of the Templars. The reply of Edward was that he would communicate to the prelates of England the information he had received. Philip next prevailed on the Pope to issue a Bull to Edward II., "asking and exhorting his Royal Highness that all and singular of the Templars in his kingdom, and all their goods, movable and immovable, should be taken in one day, and in the best way possible."

The King, in reply to this mandate, sent a message to the Pope to the effect that, "having regard to the former noble deeds of the Templars for their Church, and their purity, he could not credit the suspicions until he was more certainly notified of them on proof." He wrote at the same time to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily, and Aragon, begging them "not to believe or give ear to the accusations, which were made not for the love of rectitude, but were the breath

of covetousness and envy; and not to molest or seize the Templars or their possessions, or suffer it to be done, until they were lawfully condemned, or something had been decided against them in England."

Notwithstanding the belief of Edward II. in their innocence, and no doubt in consequence of the pressure put upon him by the Pope's legates, who delivered the mandates to him, he soon basely submitted, and before the year closed wrote to the Pope to say that he would carry out his wishes with respect to the Templars. He therefore ordered writs to be issued for seizing the persons and possessions of the Order in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which were immediately executed. Many of them were forthwith imprisoned, and for the most part treated with great severity in the Tower of London, York, Lincoln, and other places, and in course of time Inquisitors and Papal Nuncios were sent by Clement to try them.

To return to France. The day after the seizure of the Knights they were brought to trial in the chapter-house of Nôtre Dame, where the Chancellor, the King's Confessor, the Grand Inquisitor, and others of his ministers were assembled. To them the whole business was entrusted, and forthwith they were arraigned on the following charges:

1. The denial of Christ, and insult to the Cross. 2. The adoration of an idolatrous head. 3. Kisses at their receptions. 4. Omission of the words of consecration in the Mass. 5. Unnatural crimes.

It was hoped, we are told, by their accusers that confessions of guilt might be obtained from some of the brethren, in order that they might receive the pardon which was (said to be) promised by the King; but as such were not forthcoming, torture of the most horrible kind was applied to them. At the same time forged letters were read from the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, to the effect that he had himself confessed his guilt, and exhorted the brethren to do the same. Some of them fell into this snare; others of the braver sort suffered the most cruel martyrdom, and maintained

their innocency to the last. Some who under torture had confessed, when released from their agony, recanted. It has been said on good authority that at no time, nor anywhere in the whole of Christendom, did a Templar make any confession, except when it was wrung from him by the infliction or through the fear of torture. The Grand Master, it is true, through dread of suffering confessed, but afterwards retracted. The members of the fraternity were, alas! soon subjected to the most frightful cruelty which the mind of man can conceive. Amongst the tortures which these unfortunate men had to undergo the following may be mentioned: The feet of the Templar were placed in stocks, then rubbed with oil and lighted; iron boots were fitted to the naked heels and contracted; splinters of wood were driven up the nails into the finger-joints; teeth were wrenched out; heavy weights hung on the most sensitive parts of the body. Knights were put on the rack; some were roasted at slow fires, and every kind of torture, indignity, insult, and injury these unhappy men were called to endure. But there is no need further to dwell on this mournful history; the recital of the sufferings of these brave men is enough to make the flesh to creep and the ears to tingle, and to lead us to mourn over the depth of degradation to which our human nature reached at this time. Suffice it to say that at the Council of Vienne in 1312 the Order was suppressed. Both in France and England many of them were condemned, some acquitted. Others were placed in the custody of sheriffs; a few were sent to do penance in monasteries. The possessions of the Templars in France were seized by Philip; in England they were handed over to the King to be disposed of by him at his pleasure.

The learned historian and theologian, Dr. Döllinger, after a careful examination of the subject, formed a decided opinion as to the innocence of the Templars. His words are: "What will you feel when you first make acquaintance with the acts of the Templars' trials? . . . I am convinced that you will shed tears over them, for I was myself deeply agitated. . . . Were I to select a single day in the whole

course of history which in my opinion might most emphatically be described as a *dies nefastus*, it would be none other than October 13, 1307." Pope Clement died in 1314, and has left behind him a name branded with the deepest infamy. His disreputable personal character, and deeds of great baseness and servility, have sufficed to stamp him as a disgrace to his order, and an example to be shunned by all who call themselves Christians. The aged Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, not long before he was led out to the stake, spoke, in a calm voice in the ears of his judges, those memorable words: "Before heaven and earth, on the verge of death, where the least falsehood bears like an intolerable weight upon the soul, I protest that we have richly deserved death, not on account of any heresy or sin of which ourselves or our Order have been guilty, but because we have yielded, to save our lives, to the seductive words of the Pope and of the King, and so by our confessions brought shame and ruin on our blameless, holy, and orthodox brotherhood . . . Clement, iniquitous and cruel judge, I summon thee within forty days to meet me before the throne of the Most High."

Philip survived him only a few months, at the age of forty-six a miserable man, the last years of whose life were those of disaster and disgrace. His financial embarrassments went from bad to worse, as he deserved that they should. He became hateful to his subjects, and died at Fontainebleau, a hypocrite, it seems, to the last, with every demonstration of piety.

A few words must now be said about the possessions of the Order. These are believed to have been greatly exaggerated. According to one authority (Dugdale), they were estimated at £6,000,000; but this seems almost incredible, especially when we consider the value of money at that time and its worth at the present day. In England and elsewhere we know that they had numerous manors, which were sources of wealth and influence, and no doubt rendered them liable to charges of avarice and pride. It must, however, be remem-

bered that the cost of the maintenance of the fraternity was very great, for the members had to be in a state of constant preparation for war, and were a very large body, and, further, that their riches, whatever they might be, were not laid up for themselves, but for the welfare of the Order. Each member on joining the fraternity solemnly renounced all personal property; and seldom, if ever, was a Templar charged with a breach of this vow. At the different preceptories, as they were called, or homes, there is no reason to think that there was any approach to luxurious living, but rather the reverse.

There was but one preceptory in Gloucestershire, at Quenington. The manor was given by Agnes de Lasces, or Lacy, and her daughter Sibylla before i. Joan. It was valued 26 Henry VIII. at £209 16s., MS. Le Neve; at £137 7s. 1½d. per annum, Dugdale and Speed; but in Bishop Tanner's M.S Valor at £25 16s. 6d. only; and granted 37 Henry VIII. first to Sir Richard Morisine and to Sir Antony Kingston.[1]

The preceptory was endowed also with considerable gifts of land in other parts of the shire. Gilbert de Laci bestowed upon it Temple Guiting;[2] Richard, son of Roger de Calmsden, gave lands at Calmsden, in North Cerney;[3] and Asculf Musard gave Rysangre, now Wishanger, in Miserden.[4]

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1147, gave a part of his manor of Bedminster, afterwards known as Temple Fee, in Bristol, to the Templars;[5] but as Bedminster lay in Somerset, this estate appertained to the preceptory of Temple Combe, in that shire, and not to Quenington.

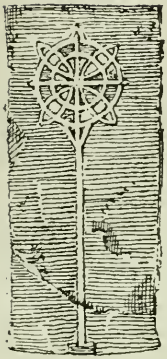
But the earliest and greatest settlement of the Templars in England was in London, on the site of the present Southampton Buildings, on the east side of Chancery Lane, Holborn, not far from Holborn Bars. Early in the reign of Henry II. they purchased land on the north bank of the Thames, between Whitefriars and Essex Street, and on this site they erected the present Temple Church and a magnificent house. The nave or round part of the church is

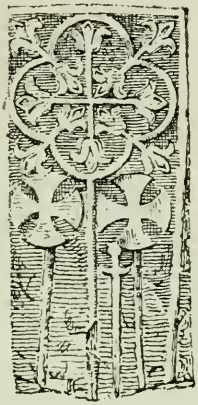
[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi., 808. [2] Rudder, 465. [3] Rudder, 326.
[4] Rudder, 555. [5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi., 838.

Norman, the choir Early English. An inscribed stone in the wall shows that the dedication took place A.D. 1185. They had churches in other places in England, as well as on the Continent. It was on May 15, 1213, in their church at Dover, that King John, in the presence of a large company of bishops, barons, and knights, on his knees before Pandulph (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), the Papal Legate, took an oath of fealty to Pope Innocent. He committed the humiliating and infamous act of surrendering the realm of England and the lordship of Ireland to be thenceforth fiefs of the Holy See. And in 1268 Prince Edward and 104 Knights received the cross from the hands of the Pope's Legate at the church at Northampton.

Though more might well be said on the subject, the time has now come to draw to a conclusion. The institution, rise, and fall of so large and important an Order as the Knights Templars, composed of men of such noble purpose and undaunted courage, and animated by so chivalrous a spirit, are full of the most tragic interest. If we are sometimes tempted to wonder how it came to pass that the lofty purposes and designs of such men were permitted to be so ignominiously frustrated, and the men themselves so mournfully to perish, we must remember that though we are unable fully to comprehend the Divine purposes, they are yet those of infinite wisdom. He who orders the lives of individual men and women controls also the destinies of nations and the affairs of institutions, and sends chastisements and blessings as He sees fit. "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." We may rest in the sure conviction that "He doeth all things well," though "His ways are not as our ways," and that out of evil He can bring abundant good.

One of our wisest Bishops (Thirlwall) has said generally, and with the quotation of his words I will conclude: "I should myself hesitate to say that whatever is, is best; but I have a strong faith that it is *for* the best, and that the general stream of tendency is toward good."





These woodcuts are representations of two Templars' tombs (slabs) on the floor of the church at Bosbury. They are without date or inscription of any kind.

THE
PRE-DOMESDAY HIDE OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

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During an examination of the land charters which illustrate the history of Gloucestershire in the eighth century, I was struck by the fact that in several cases the number of holdings on the estates dealt with coincided with the number of hides attributed to the relative estate in Domesday. The following paper contains the results of a more careful enquiry into the subject so far as Gloucestershire and the district round Bath are concerned. It is evident that such an enquiry must be conducted with caution. In the first place, it must deal only with a district of which the writer has personal knowledge, because few sources of error have been more fatal in such matters than mere guessing at places and place-names. And, again, many of the manuscripts which purport to be ancient are either forgeries or copies of so late a date that their accuracy in the record of numbers cannot be relied on. In particular, documents of a date later than Domesday are in this respect subject to suspicion unless there be good reason for believing them to be good copies of older charters. Therefore, the area of enquiry is limited to Gloucestershire and North Somerset, and the only documents taken into account are a few original charters and those belonging to the Monasteries of Worcester and Bath.

The plan adopted is to consider first the original nature of the hide, then to give an account of the sources of the documents used, with a statement of the date and purport of each document; and, finally, to collect the evidence afforded by them with regard to the identity of the hide of Domesday with the original holdings, and to attempt to estimate the significance of that evidence.

The best summary of the evidence of the early usage of the word "hide" is given in the glossary at the end of Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. It is there shewn that though the word "hida" occurs in the laws of Ine, c. 690, it is found among no other German people. With regard to its origin, Grimm[1] derives the word from *corium* skin, and refers it to the measuring of land with thongs. Mr. Seebohm[2] suggests that possibly it arose from a custom of paying tribute in hides, as did the Frisians; and as Henry II. bound his Irish vassal, Roderic O'Connor, to pay annually "de singulis animalibus decimum corium placabile mercatoribus." But there is nothing in the sources of Anglo-Saxon history to support this opinion. And in the same way the derivation of the word from "hydan," to hide, English "hut," which Bishop Kennet and after him Ellis[3] proposes, seems doubtful; for, apart from the fact that hŷd is not found in this sense, it is not probable that the word "hut" was used for a whole estate.

It is much more probable that hid should be connected with hiw, a family; taking it either as a contraction of hiwed,[4] or with Kemble[5] for the contracted higid which is found in a charter of Berhtulf, king of the Mercians, A.D. 848.[6] On this last suggestion, however, Professor Earle remarks[7]:—"It is doubtful whether a single instance of the form higid will bear so great weight as is thus put upon it. Especially as the letter g plays in Anglo-Saxon a semi-vocalic part, as a mere consonantal film, to keep two vowels distinct, so that the g might have just the same value as a modern diæresis; thus higid=hiid." Again, in a confirmation of land at Tisbury to the nuns of Shaftesbury by King Ethelred, A D. 984, the "xx mansæ" are described in the land boundaries as "twentiwe hiwe."

It is a point of very great importance that Bede, in his *History*, always uses *familia* where in Anglo-Saxon we should

[1] *Rechtsalterthümer*, 538. [2] *English Village Community*, 398.
[3] *Introduction*, 145. [4] Leo, *Rectitudines*, 105. [5] *Saxons*, I., c. 4, p. 73.
[6] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 452. [7] *Land Charters*, 123.

expect to find hide, and that in King Alfred's paraphrase of Bede the word *familia* is commonly rendered hida, or by one of its allied forms, hiwisc or hiwscipe; and more rarely folc. For instance, III., 24:—Singulæ possesiones decem erant familiarum—wæs thæs landes hundtwelftig hida; comparata possessione decem familiarum—gebohte tyn hida landes; IV., 13:—Habens terram familiarum septem millium—is thæs landes seofen thusendo hida; donavit terram octoginta septem familiarum—sealde seofon & hundeahtig hida landes. Or again, IV., 23:—Accepit locum unius familiæ—onfeng anes hiwscipes stowe; V., 20:—Donavit terram decem familiarum—sealde tyn hiwisca[1] landes; monasterium triginta familiarum—mynster xxx hiwisca.[2] Or once more, III., 24: regnum Australium Merciorum qui sunt (ut dicunt) familiarum quinque millium—suth Myrcna rice, tha syndon thæs the menn cwethath fif thusendo folces. So also when Bede estimates the extent of large tracts of country, his unit of measurement is the family. Thus of the Island of Thanet he says, I., 25:—Tanatos insula non modica, id est magnitudinis juxta consuetudinem æstimationis familiarum sexcentarum—six hund hida. Of the Isle of Wight he writes, IV., 16:—Est antem mensura ejusdem insulæ (juxta æstimationem Anglorum) mille ducentarum familiarum—twelf hund hida.

From all these instances we may gather that in the time of Bede, who died on the eve of Ascension Day, A.D. 735, the value and extent of land were measured, not by its acreage nor by its money worth, but by the number of families it would maintain; and we gather also that when the English paraphrase of Bede's *History* was made in the time of King Alfred, the *familia* of Bede might be rendered indifferently either by hida, or by hiwisc or hiwscipe, a family, shewing plainly that the term hida implied an amount of land sufficient for the maintenance of a single family. That is to say, that the definition of the Hide given by Henry of

[1] Another MS. reads "hida."

[2] Another MS. reads "thrittig hida."

Huntingdon in the twelfth century[1]—"Hida antem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum"—runs on the same lines with the usage of a period four or five centuries earlier; though the practice was far different in the time of the chronicler—for while the Domesday Survey for Gloucestershire reckons 2611 hides in the shire, it enumerates 3909 carucæ, or three teams to every two hides. Henry was giving a definition of an historical term, and in his time the definition was already out of date.

An original grant of Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, bearing the date A.D. 904,[2] conveys to Wulfsige, his reeve, "anes hides lond on Easttune,"—the land of one hide at Easttun. But more generally the holdings were described by other titles, as in a grant in Heming's *Cartulary*,[3] by which Oswold, Bishop of Worcester, granted to Æthelnoth "unam mansam æt Heortford," now Harford in Naunton. The land-boundaries are described as of—"thære anre hidæ into Heortforda"—the one hide at Heortford; and a note at the end of the deed states that "thonne is thæs landes an hid, &c."—"this is the one hide of land which Bishop Oswold booked to Æthelnoth." Here we have the same estate called one mansa, one hide, and one hide of land, clearly showing that in this case, at any rate, one mansa implied the same thing with one hide.

The three original eighth century documents conveying land in Gloucestershire all style the holdings "cassati" (*casa*, a cottage); the deeds in MS. Nero E.1, a document probably of the end of the tenth century, add "manentes" and "mansa"—"settlers" and "settlement;" and Heming's *Cartulary* of the twelfth century adds yet again "mansio," with the same meaning. The original grant of Bishop Werfrith already mentioned, some of the documents in MS. Nero E.1, and two grants in Heming give "hida." And

[1] *Historia Anglorum*, A.D. 1008.

[2] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 609; Britt. Mus. Add. M.SS, 19,791.

[3] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1,105. This authority will be referred to in the notes as *C.S.*

these are the terms commonly used for holdings throughout England. It does not appear that any special significance was attached to the particular term employed, but rather that they were used indifferently. For instance, an original charter is extant[1] by which King Offa grants to the Monastery at Bredon—"terram x manentium æt Wærsetfelda & æt Coftune v cassatorum tantundem æt Wreodanhale id est v mansarum," where it is evident that the three terms are used synonymously; and in the record of the proceedings of the Synod of Brentford in A.D. 781, when Offa took possession of Bath and confirmed the possession of other lands to the See of Worcester, the estates are thus described[2]:—"æt Beathum xc manentium, et in aliis multis locis; hoc est æt Stretforda xxx cassatos: æt Sture xxxviii. Simili etiam vocabulo æt Sture in Usmerum xiiii manentium, æt Breodune xii, in Homtune xvii cassatorum;" again, in King Æthelbald's grant of land at Bæccesore where MS. Nero E.1 reads "terram viii manentium," the two copies in Heming's *Cartulary* read "octo cassatorum." It would be easy to multiply instances where these various terms were used interchangeably, and there can be no doubt that they all signify the same thing, *i.e.* the holding of a single family.

The purpose of the present paper therefore is to take the hidage recorded in the Domesday Survey as a standard, and to compare with it the number of holdings mentioned on the various estates with regard to the possession of which documents are contained in the first three volumes of the *Cartularium Saxonicum* of Mr. Walter de Gray Birch. The work extends at present only to the death of King Eadgar in 975, and I propose to consider only estates which lie in Gloucestershire and near Bath, because only with regard to those do I possess sufficient local knowledge.

Again, even with regard to the documents in the *Cartularium* referring to the district mentioned, considerable deductions must be made on account of the doubtful character of so many deeds: and therefore the only charters which will

[1] *C.S.*, 234. [2] *C.S.*, 241.

be taken into account are first a few original documents which are still extant; next, those contained in MS. Nero E.1; then those contained in Heming's *Cartulary* of the estates of the Cathedral at Worcester; and finally those in the *Cartulary* of the Abbey of Bath. But it will be found that the deeds are sufficient in number, and the estates mentioned range over a sufficiently large extent of country, to afford adequate material for a very satisfactory comparison.

It will be necessary to give a short description of each of these sources of information. The original documents are all to be found in the British Museum. The MS. Nero E.1, and Heming's *Cartulary* Tiberius, A. xiii. are contained in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum, and they probably represent two different periods of antiquarian research in the history of Worcester Cathedral. Nero E.1 is described by Kemble as "a fine vellum MS. of about the year 1000;" Tiberius, A. xiii. is a Cartulary of Worcester compiled by Heming, a monk of that monastery, under the direction of St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1062—1095, which Kemble calls "a collection of the highest value." Heming has given a most interesting account of the circumstances under which he composed his work, which may conveniently be found in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, Vol. XXXVIII., pp. 30—34. He tells us that the Bishop used to accuse the monks, himself among others, of idleness and slothfulness, because they neglected to place on record what they knew or could discover of the history of the Church and its property, and thus prevent the loss which fraud or carelessness might bring upon it. That he ordered the charter chest to be opened in his presence, and examined all the documents, causing those that needed it to be repaired. He then divided them into two groups, one containing all the early bequests and privileges whereby it was made manifest when and by whom the lands had been given to the Church at first; the other containing the indentures in which Archbishop Oswald, with the assistance of King Eadgar,

established the Cathedral title to lands taken possession of, at some time or other, by powerful men. When the Bishop had made all these arrangements, he ordered that all the deeds should be transcribed in the same order in the Cathedral Library, so that even if the documents should be lost, the copies would remain; and, finally, he ordered that all the deeds relating to the separate property of the monks should be separated out from the rest, and arranged in their own order in two volumes. All this Heming says he did in accordance with the Bishop's commands, so far as the measure of his insignificance had been able to do it.

That is the account of the compilation of Heming's *Cartulary*, which was evidently a most careful piece of work, and which was published by Thomas Hearne in 1723. It will be noticed that it is said that Archbishop Oswald had established the right of the Church to lands which had been stolen by powerful men, and had left indentures to prove the fact. This was St. Oswald, who had introduced the Benedictine system into the Huiccian Churches, who was appointed to the See of Worcester in 961, to York in 972, and who died in 992. It seems very probable that the list of Cathedral properties contained in MS. Nero E.1 was compiled under his direction, for the latest documents contained in it are leases granted by him, the last of which is dated 981; if so, it is interesting to know that we have documentary evidence relating to the Worcester Estates drawn up under the direction of those two good and able prelates, St. Oswald and St. Wulfstan.

By far the larger number of the Worcester documents are found only in Heming; but fortunately we possess independent authority for some of his charters, which shew that the accuracy of his work may be relied on. He has given a copy of the grant, of which the original still exists, by which Eanberht, Uhctred, and Aldred bestowed the land of ten cassates at Onnanford on Abbot Headda in A.D. 759.[1] There are a few slight variations in spelling, and Heming omits most

[1] *C.S.*, 187.

of the signatures; in other respects, his copy is an accurate one. In the same way, Heming's copy of an original charter of King Wiglaf in A.D. 836 relating to Hanbury differs only in the omission of the names of the witnesses.[1]

As might be expected, all the documents relating to Gloucestershire recorded in Nero E.1 are found also in Heming, who has copied the calendar of lands accurately. There are but slight verbal differences in the charters relating to Bradanlæh and Bæccesore.[2] In the charter relating to Westbury and Henbury, Heming has inserted an Anglo-Saxon paragraph setting forth the rents payable in kind.[3] The document in the older manuscript relating Æthelric's disposition of his property looks like a summary of a document which was afterwards copied in full by Heming, and the account of the settlement of the dispute in A.D. 824 is also rather more full in Heming. The charters of Bishop Oswald's times relating to Cumtun and Stoke are more fully given in Heming than in the older manuscript; and, finally, as might be expected, there are a number of minor variations in the spelling of the two forms of the boundaries of Withington. The writer of MS. Nero E.1 seemed to have a tendency to summarise; but a comparison of Heming's work with the older forms of his documents shows that he was substantially accurate, and that his work is trustworthy.

The documents relating to the property of the Church of Bath are contained in MS. cxi. of the library bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. Professor Earle says of it (*Land Charters*, page 369):—"I add some particulars for which I am indebted to Professor Skeat. The book is in good early writing to p. 129, of which the earliest part is pp. 55—129; at p. 116 (back) is the date 1136." All the documents with which we are concerned are contained in the earliest part of the book, and had therefore acquired their present form before 1136. No means exist of checking their accuracy, such as the original MSS. and MS. Nero E.1 afford for testing the documents in Heming, but

[1] *C.S.*, 416. [2] *C.S.*, 153, 163. [3] *C.S.*, 273.

there seems to be no reason for doubting that they are good copies of genuine documents.

In comparing the earlier documents with the entries in Domesday, it will be most convenient to take first the original charters which are not contained in Heming, and then to consider the two collections of Worcester documents and the charters in the Bath book, in relation with the estates to which they refer.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

SULMONNESBURG.

In 779 King Offa granted to his thegn Duddo "quatuor cassatos" at Sulmonnesburg, stating the boundary points thus—"ab austro withigford, usque inwinesborg, ab occidente vallis qui dicitur turcadenu, ab aquilone slohtran ford, ab oriente fluvius ante nominatus Wænrisc." These limiting points precisely coincide with those of the present parish of Bourton-on-the-Water. The Wænrisc is the brook which crossing the Fosse at Lower Slaughter becomes the parish boundary on the East till it joins the stream now known as the Windrush. On the south the boundary runs from the Windrush westwards[1] till it meets the Turkdean brook, which it follows till it touches the Fosse, it then runs along the Fosse till it meets the (Wænrisc) brook at Lower Slaughter.

These boundaries are given in a slightly altered form as the limits of an estate of twenty hides of land at Burhtune bestowed in 949 by King Eadred on Wulfric "miles."[2] The document is described by Mr. Birch as an "old pen-and-ink *fac-simile* of the original charter," Cotton Charter viii., 6. Bourton-on-the-Water appears in Domesday as an estate of the Church of Evesham rated at ten hides.

Here the number of cassates in King Offa's grant, and of hides in that of King Edgar, which however is only a copy, do not agree with the number in Domesday; but it is

[1] Inwinesburg may be Clapton Hill. [2] *C.S.*, 882.

evident that the present boundaries of Bourton-on-the-Water are the same with those of the estate which Offa granted to Duddo more than eleven centuries ago.

Sulmonnesburg, of course, is the ancient camp close to Bourton which gave its name to the Domesday Hundred of Salmanesberie, and at a gap in the rampart of which a Court Leet was held till recently.[1]

PERSHORE ESTATES.

The only other original document which does not refer to estates mentioned by Heming is the grant of confirmation of lands and privileges given by King Eadgar to Pershore Abbey in A.D. 972.[2] A table shewing the Gloucestershire Estates referred to is given on page 127, and it will be seen that in the case of Dyrham, Longney, and Lydney, the number of "mansi" in King Eadgar's grant agrees exactly with the number of hides mentioned in Domesday, while at Acton Turville there are five hides for three "mansi," and in the Hawkesbury Group thirty hides stand for forty "mansi." This last variation seems to be inexplicable.

WESTBURY-ON-TRYM AND HENBURY.

The documents relating to these estates fall into two groups, one relating to Henbury and Aust, the gift of King Ethelred to Bishop Oftfor; the other relating to Westbury Stoke, Yate, and their dependencies, which seem to have been in the first instance bestowed upon Eanulf, the grandfather of Offa, by King Ethelbald, and to have been by Eanulf dedicated to religious uses. As Eanulf founded the Monastery of Bredon by the advice of Ethelbald, who began to reign in 716, and of St. Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, who died soon after, it is probable that his dedication of Westbury also took place early in the reign of Ethelbald.

King Ethelred granted to Bishop Oftfor at "Heanburg et in alio loco Æt Austin hoc est circiter in illis duobus locis

[1] Rudder, 303. [2] *C.S.*, 1,282.

xxx cassatorum."[1] Oftfor was consecrated in 691, and held the See but for a short time. There seems to be no good reason for doubting the authenticity of this charter.

In the reign of Offa, however, all the Westbury and Henbury lands appear in the hands of laymen. In 778-9 Offa and Aldred Subregulus granted "terram bis quinas mansiones æt Gete," which is said to have belonged to Eanulf, to the Church of St. Mary at Worcester.[2] From the special mention of Aldred it is probable that this Church land had fallen into his hands. A few years later the Westbury and Henbury properties form the subject of a group of grants, the effect of which is thus summed up by the compiler of MS. Nero E.1[3]:—"Westbyrig and Stoc Æthelric bequeathed to Worcester, and King Offa booked it first to Æthelmund Æthelric's father, and again Offa booked to Worcester both Westbyrig and Stoke lx hides and Henbury xx hides." By a charter still extant, a copy of which with only insignificant variations is found in Heming,[4] Offa booked to his thegn Ethelmund "terram iv cassatorum" at Westbury. Among the names of witnesses are Hygebert, Archbishop of Lichfield, and Ethelheard of Canterbury, the former signing first. The date would be 793-6. About the same time Offa granted to Worcester the land of lx manentes at Westbury and xx at Henbury after the death of himself and his son Ecgfrid. The land is stated to have been a possession of Eanulf. By a manifest error, MS. Nero E.1 reads "x mān," and Heming gives in Anglo-Saxon a list of rents in kind, otherwise the two forms of the grant are essentially identical.[5]

In 794 Offa confirmed to Worcester "terram æt Austan v manentes" which Bynna "comes regis" had unjustly taken.[6] It will be seen that the sum of the land dealt with in all these grants is eighty-five holdings; the original thirty holdings at Henbury and Aust consisting of five at Aust and

[1] *C.S.*, 75; MS. Harleian, 4660, f. 1—"ex autogr: in archivis Wigorn."
[2] *C.S.*, 231. [3] *C.S.*, 1,320.
[4] *C.S.*, 274. [5] *C.S.*, 272, 273. [6] *C.S.*, 269.

twenty at Henbury, besides five which must in some way have been added to the fifty-five holdings mentioned in Offa's original grant of Westbury to Ethelmund, giving sixty at Westbury, twenty at Henbury, and five at Aust, confirmed by Offa to Worcester Cathedral.

Offa and Ecgfrid both died in 796; Ethelmund was slain at Kempsford in 800, and in 804 Ethelric made a disposition of his property, by which he left the land at "Westmynster" and Stoke to his mother, Ciolburga, Abbess of Berkeley, for her life, with reversion to the See of Worcester. Ethelric's disposition is preserved in Nero E.1,[1] and in two rather longer forms in Heming.[2] One of the forms in Heming gives the land at Westmynster as of "xliii manentium;" and as the settlement by Ethelred in 883 stated that the land at Stoke consisted of twelve hides, we have a total of fifty-five holdings at Westbury and Stoke, as stated in Offa's grant to Ethelmund, which is still extant. It is a very remarkable thing, and one that testifies very clearly to the antiquity and permanence of the land-divisions, that in a series of grants extending from the end of the seventh century to the end of the ninth the various numbers of holdings mentioned agree exactly with each other; especially as one of the documents is an original eighth century grant.

The chronicle states that Abbess Ceolburg died in 805, but the family at Berkeley refused to surrender the Monastery at Westbury, which was however adjudged to Worcester in a Synod at Cloveshoe in 824.[3] Nevertheless, the Cathedral did not recover the twelve hides at Stoke mentioned above till 883, when they were secured to it by Ethelred, Alderman of the Mercians.[4]

In 967 Bishop Oswald granted to Eadmær an estate at Stoke which Nero E.1 describes as "vi manentes," and Heming as "vi cassatos," and in 969 he granted "ii mansas" to Ethelweard at the same place,[5] but these are evidently only portions of a larger estate. The same remark will apply

[1] *C.S.*, 314. [2] *C.S.*, 313. [3] *C.S.*, 379. [4] *C.S*, 551.
[5] *C.S.*, 1202, 1203, and 1236.

to the "i mansa" at Icenantune granted by Bishop Oswald to Ethelweard in 967 and the "ii mansas" granted by him to Wulfgar at the same place in the same year, for Itchington is rated in Domesday at five hides. In the same way Oswald's grant of "i mansa" at Cumtun to Ealhferth in 962 was only part of the three and a half hides at which Compton Grenefield was rated.[1]

A comparison between the number of holdings mentioned on these estates with the Domesday hidage is given in my paper on "The Danes in Gloucestershire," vol. XVI., page 224. It runs thus:—

At Aust	5	holdings
Henbury	20	,,
Westbury...	60	,,
Yate	10	,,
	95	,,

In Domesday this land or part of it is found among the possessions of the See of Worcester in Bernintrev Hundred, into which Hundred all the land of the See in this neighbourhood had been gathered:—

	H.	V.
Westbury, Henbury, Redwick, Stoke, Yate	50	0
Six Radchenists	8	0
Aust Cliff	5	0
Compton Grenefield	3	2
Itchington...	5	0
Osbern Gifard	5	0
	76	2

I believe the deficiency is due to the fact that the twelve hides at Stoke which Alderman Ethelred restored to Worcester formed only a part of the land of Westbury which had been unjustly retained by the Monastery at Berkeley, and that the remainder is represented by land now

[1] *C.S.*, 1,089, 1,090, 1,206, 1,207.

lying in the Hundred of Berkeley, in the neighbourhood of Westbury and Henbury, entered in Domesday, thus:—

	H.	V.
Almondsbury	2	0
Horfield (including Filton)	8	0
Kingsweston	7	1
Elberton	5	0
	22	1
Westbury, Henbury, and their members ...	76	2
	98	3

A total which very nearly coincides with the number of holdings shewn by the ancient grants. In this case the Monastery at Berkeley would have been powerful enough to draw all its possessions into a single Hundred exactly as the Cathedral at Worcester and the Abbey at Deerhurst did.

Note that Aust, which comprised the land of "v manentium" in 794, was rated at five hides in 1086.

It is a very remarkable thing also that the boundaries of Stoc as given in Alderman Ethelred's award of 883 precisely agree, so far as they can be traced, with the boundaries of the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton at the present day.[1] They run thus:—

From Hæsl well to Hæsl dene,
Then from Hæsl dene to Waldes well,
From Waldes well to Sweordes Stone,
,, Sweordes Stone to Eowcumbe,
,, Eowcumbe to Avon Stream.
,, Avon Stream again up to Hricgleage,
,, Hricgleage to Penpau,
,, Penpau to Severn Stream.
,, Hæsl well again to the lead-diggings,
,, the lead-diggings to Mill Pool,
,, Mill Pool to Avon Stream.

The boundaries give first the southern limit of Stoke Bishop tithing. Hazle Well was the source of the stream near Springfield. The boundary runs south along the brook,

[1] *C.S.*, 551.

then it turns westwards by Mother Pugsley's Well on Kings down (Waldes Well); Sweordes Stone I cannot now identify; Eowcumbe is no doubt the gully on Durdham Down. The line then ran down the Avon, climbing the steep cliff to Shirehampton Park (Hricgleage), over Penpole, and across the Marsh to the Severn, forming the eastern boundary of Shirehampton tithing. The boundary then started again from Springfield to form the northern limit of Stoke Bishop tithing; the lead-diggings are no doubt the pits on Durdham Down, at the top of Parry's Lane; the Mill Pool would be Clack Mill, from which the boundary runs down the Trym to the Avon.

Sweordes Stone is the only point which cannot be identified; the other points are all easily recognised on the present boundaries of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton.

Thus we see, with regard to the Westbury and Henbury Estates, that the number of holdings mentioned in the early grants agrees almost exactly with the Domesday hidage, and that the points mentioned in the ninth century land-boundaries of Stoc may, with one exception, be identified on the limits of the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton at the present day. And this is the more remarkable, because after the time of St. Oswald the Church lands at Westbury were plundered by Vikings and laid waste; they were also secularised, until they were restored to St. Wulfstan by William the Conqueror.[1]

WITHINGTON AND DOWDESWELL.

King Ethelred and Oshere, Viceroy of the Huiccians, granted, before 705, "terram xx cassatorum" by the Tillath to two holy women, Dunna and her daughter Bucga, for a monastery, which land was at a Synod in 736-7 adjudged to Hrotwari, daughter of Bucga, for her life, with reversion to the See of Worcester, and was in 774, as "xxi manentia," granted by Bishop Milred to the Abbess Ethelburga for her life.[2]

[1] Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 447. [2] *C.S.*, 156, 217.

The oldest of the original documents relating to our Shire states that in 759 three brothers, Eanberht, Uhctred, and Aldred, granted to Headda, Abbot of Worcester, "terram decem cassatorum æt Onnanforda," which land Headda bestowed on the See of Worcester under the name "æt Onnandune," with other land "æt Dogodeswellan & æt Tyreltune."

A list of the land-boundaries at "Widiandun," c. 800, are preserved in Nero E.1 and Heming; they seem to include the existing parishes of Withington and Dowdeswell.[1]

We thus have twenty or twenty-one holdings of the ancient monastery at Withington, and ten holdings bestowed by Abbot Headda at Onnanforda, under the name of Onnandune, besides land of an uncertain amount given by him at Dogodeswellan or Dowdeswell, and Tyreltune if that was in this neighbourhood. Onnanford is no doubt Andoversford, on the borders of Withington and Dowdeswell.

The Domesday entries relating to Withington and Dowdeswell are these:—

	H.	V.
Withington	30	0
iv Radchenistri	2	3
Presbyter	0	2
Foxcote	3	0
Little Colesborne and Hilcote	2	0
Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth	4	2
	42	3

But an exact comparison with the holdings mentioned in the ancient grants is impossible, on account of the uncertainty with regard to Abbot Headda's gifts. It will be noticed that Foxcote, Little Colesborne, and Hilcote all lie on the west or south-west boundary of Withington, and it may be that they are included in the benefaction of the Abbot.

[1] *C.S.*, 187, 283, 299.

COLD ASTON AND NOTGROVE.

King Ethelbald granted to Osred "terram xx cassatorum id est x et viii in loco quem dicunt æt Eastune et ad Natangrafum."[1] It will be noticed that the sum of the two numbers is only eighteen cassates, the deficiency apparently being in the number attributed to Notgrove. In Domesday Cold Aston was rated at ten hides, Notgrove at five, a still further deficiency. About 802 Bishop Deneberht leased to Eanswith "terram ii casatorum" at Hereforda, and in 963 Bishop Oswald leased "i mansa" at Heortford to Ethelnoth.[2] Hurford is rated in Domesday at one hide, and is now reckoned to lie in Naunton; but it is quite possible that these leases represent the whole or a part of the Notgrove deficiency. It is possible that Bishop Werfrith's lease (still extant) of the land of one hide at Easttun to his thegn Wulfsig, in 904, refers to Cold Aston.[3]

COLESBOURNE.

The catalogue of Worcester lands preserved in MS. Nero E.1 states that Bishop Deneberht leased viii hides at Colesburn to Balthun. A lease of c. 802, preserved by Heming, gives the amount leased to Balthun the priest as "terram viiii manentium,"[4] probably a copyist's error, as the land appears in Domesday as held by Walter f Roger of the Church of Worcester and rated at eight hides; the Domesday hidage agreeing exactly with that stated in the older authority. Balthun appears to have been Abbot of Kempsey.[5]

BARNSLEY.

When Bishop Deneberht leased Colesburn to Balthun he also leased to him "terram vi manentium æt Bearmodeslea," and in 855 Bishop Alhun purchased from King Burgred among other lands "æt Beorondeslea vi cassatorum;" the catalogue in MS. Nero E.1 gives "æt Bærendes-lea v hida."[6]

[1] *C.S.*, 165. [2] *C.S.*, 307, 1105. [3] *C.S.*, 609. [4] *C.S.*, 1320, 304. [5] *C.S.*, 295. [6] *C.S.*, 304, 1320.

Barnsley appears in Domesday under Bibury among the lands of the Church of Worcester:—

	H.	V.
Durandus tenet de Episcopo	3	1
Eudo „ „ „	1	3
	5	0

A number which agrees precisely with that given in the older manuscript.

BIBURY.

Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester 717—743, leased to the Comes Leppa and his daughter Beaga five cassates, being the third part of fifteen cassates which belonged to the See by the river "Cunuglæ;" the deed is in Heming, and is headed "Beagan byrig;" and in 962 Bishop Oswald leased to Alfwold "iii cassatos" at Cungle.[1]

In 855 Bishop Alhun purchased from King Burgred "bi Cunelgan decem manentium æt Eadbaldingtune," and in 899 Bishop Werfrith leased to the priest Werwulf "terram quinque manentium juxta Cunelgan ubi noto vocabulo Eadbaldingtun vocitatur."[2] This estate is evidently the tithing of Ablington, as I believe the land referred to in the former paragraph to be the tithing of Bibury. In this case the charters would give twenty-five holdings, fifteen in Bibury and ten in Ablington. In Domesday the land is entered thus:—

	H.	V.
Becheberie	21	0
iii Radchenistri	4	0
Presbyter	3	0
	28	0

If we could consider the three cassates leased by Bishop Oswald to represent the priest's land, and that his lease was a means of eventually bringing back to the Church land of which it had been unjustly deprived; then the three cassates would be in addition to the other twenty-five, and the

[1] *C.S.*, 166, 1091. [2] *C.S.*, 487, 580.

Domesday entry would precisely agree with the number of holdings stated by the charters. But it is safer to assume that the agreement cannot in this case be exactly proved.

The Survey states that one hide at Eycote, which lay locally in Rendcombe, pertained to Bibury, but I cannot find any reference to it as a separate holding in the old charters.

When Bishop Alhun bought Ablington, he bought also "æt Pultune viiii cassatorum & æt Esege v manentium;" the last mentioned estate is also referred to in a grant of King Offa to Worcester (775-778) of "terram v manentium æt Ductune et v æt Esig."[1] Ductune is referred to Doughton in Tetbury. Pultune and Esege are no doubt Poulton and Eisey, now in Wilts. Poulton is rated in Domesday at five hides; Eisey, together with Latton, to which it had been joined by King Harold, at nine hides.

BATSFORD.

King Ethelbald granted to Bishop Wilfrid land which in MS. Nero E.1 is styled "viii manentium," and in Heming "viii cassatorum," at "Bæccesore."[2] In Domesday it appears as three hides at Becesore belonging to Ansfrid de Cormeilles, but that is evidently only a fragment of the former grant.

WOODCHESTER.

Ethelbald also granted to Bishop Wilfrid "terram trium cassatorum ruris sylvatici" at "Wuduceastir;" and in 896 the possession of this woodland was confirmed to the See of Worcester at a gathering of the Mercian witan under Alderman Ethelred.[3] In Domesday Udecestre appears as unjustly held by Edward, Sheriff of Wilts. No one appeared to answer for it, and its hidage is not stated. It is needless to state that no mention is made of the manor in the record for Wilts.

ICOMB.

On the Feast of S. Stephen, 781, King Offa granted "terram octo cassatorum" at Icancumb to the Church of

[1] *C.S.*, 487, 226. [2] *C S.*, 163. [3] *C.S.*, 164, 574.

Worcester, in exchange for land at Sapey.[1] Several Icomb Manors appear in Domesday:—

Iccũbe	..	Roger de Laci	2 Hides.
Icũbe	..	Radulf de Todeni	10 ,,
Iccũbe	..	Durandus de Glow: ..	2 ,,
Iacũbe	..	Eccl. de Wirecestre ..	1 ,,

The two former manors now lie in Westcote or Combe Baskerville, the two latter in Icombe; but Church Icombe was until recently for civil purposes in Worcestershire. Evidently the land comprised in Offa's grant had been dismembered and secularised before the date of Domesday, so that exact comparison is impossible. In fact, the small portion of Icomb which appears among the possessions of the Cathedral in the Survey had been acquired by Ælfgar, Earl of the Mercians, and given to Prior Wulfstan only a short time before his consecration to the See of Worcester, on September 8, 1062.[2] Ælfgar had succeeded to his Earldom at Christmas, 1057.

GUITING.

In 814 the Bishop and Chapter of Worcester gave to King Kenulf "xii manentes bi Gythinge" in exchange for land at Sture.[3] According to Domesday, King Edward had held ten hides at Getinge, which he had given for life to the Sheriff, Alwin, and Alwin had held two hides at Cateslat. No doubt these twelve hides in Guiting Power and Castlett, which manors, together with the separate Manor and Chapelry of Farncote, make up the Parish of Lower Guiting, represent the xii manentes of the Chapter grant.

TWINING.

On the feast of St. Stephen, 814, the Bishop and Chapter of Worcester gave to King Kenulf in exchange "Monasterium quod nominatur Bituinæum iii manentes."[4] "Bituinæum" signifies "between the eas," or rivers Avon and Severn. The land appears in Domesday as three hides at Tueninge,

[1] *C.S.*, 240. [2] Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 446. [3] *C.S.*, 351. [4] *C.S.*, 350.

belonging to the Church of Winchcombe, to which no doubt it had been given by Kenulf.

SAPERETUN.

In 969 Bishop Oswald leased "quatuor mansas æt Saperetun" to Eadric.[1] This land is evidently the same with the four hides at Sapletone which pertained to Cleeve in 1086, and which Radulf held of the See of Worcester.

ELMSTONE.

In 889 the Chapter at Worcester leased to Bishop Werfrith "terram v manentium" at Alhmundingtune, and in the same year the Bishop leased three out of the five hides to his relative Cyneswith;[2] the land had belonged to the Church of Cleeve. This land is represented in Domesday by the five hides at (Elmstone) Herdewic, held by Westminster Abbey in the Hundred of Deerhurst. Note that Westminster also held Bourton-on-the-Hill and Moreton Hindmarsh, which, as they lay in Blockley jurisdiction, must at one time have belonged to Worcester as Elmstone did. Deerhurst Abbey must have acquired Elmstone after 889, and though Todenham is mentioned in Ethelric's settlement,[3] Bourton and Moreton are not, being possibly, like Elmstone, later acquisitions from the Cathedral Estates.

BICKMARSH.

In 967 King Edgar granted ii mansas at Suthtune and Bicanmersce to the thegn Brihtnoth, no doubt the hero of Maldon.[4] Bichemerse is rated at one hide in Domesday, and belonged, as it had done in King Edward's time, to Eddiet. I cannot identify Suthtune.

CLIFFORD.

In 966 Bishop Oswald leased ii mansas at Clifforda to Wihtelm.[5] From the reference to Stratford, the land

[1] *C.S.*, 1239. [2] *C.S.*, 559, 560. [3] *C.S.*, 313, 314.
[4] *C.S.*, 1201. [5] *C.S.*, 1181.

evidently lay at Clifford Chambers, rated in Domesday at ten hides in all. This was evidently a portion of a larger estate.

BRADANLÆH.

On November 24, 723, 728, or 734, King Ethelbald granted to Cyneburh "terram vi cassatorum" at Bradanlæh.[1] It is very unlikely that this was Maiden Bradley in Wilts, as it was granted by a Mercian King, and the charter is preserved among the Worcester documents. It is not unlikely that the property gave its name to Bradley Hundred on the Cotswolds, which includes Hampnett, a manor of which the Cathedral was deprived in the time of St. Wulfstan, and near to which it owned large estates at Withington, Cold Aston, and Notgrove. The name "Bradley" survives in Yanworth:— "As you enter the Yanworth Common, on the right side of the road that leads from Yanworth to the Roman Villa, and nearly opposite the Villa, is a piece of land nearly a triangle in shape, which is called 'Bradley Green;' it is the highest point on the Common, and I think quite probable to be the Bradley you want."[2] Yanworth is rated in Domesday at five hides as a possession of Sigar de Cioches.

BATH.

The Bath Register Book contains a charter, dated November 6, 676, by which King Osric granted to the Abbess Bertana "Centum manentes, qui adjacent civitati quæ vocatur Hat Bathu" for a monastery of holy women; and Heming gives a record of the decree of a Synod at Brentford in 781, by which various estates were confirmed to the See of Worcester, and the monastery at Bath with the land "xc manentium" and also xxx cassates to the south of Avon (which Heathored, Bishop of Worcester, says that the Chapter at Worcester had purchased for a fair price from Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons, who obtained the throne in 755), were granted to King Offa. It also appears that

[1] *C.S.*, 153.

[2] Information given to the Rev. J. W. Tudor, Vicar of Turkdean, by Mr. J. Trotman, of Yanworth.

Cynulf gave "v mansiones in loco qui dicitur Northstoc" to the monastery at Bath:[1] the names of the witnesses would point to about 758 as the date of the grant, and this may very probably also mark the date of the purchase of the land to the south of Bath. As North Stoke lies to the north of the Avon, this was no doubt an act of restitution on the part of Cynulf.

The Hundred of Bath is thus entered in Domesday Survey[2]:—

NORTH OF AVON.	H.	V.
Bathwick	7	0
Woolley	2	0
Weston	20	0
Bathford	10	0
Tadwick in Swainswick	2	0
Langridge	2	2
Kelston	5	0
Batheaston	6	2
Burgum quod vocatur Bade	20	0
	75	0
Lyncombe	10	0
	85	0

SOUTH OF AVON.	H.	V.
Lyncombe	10	0
Monkton Combe	9	0
Freshford	6	0
Bathampton	5	0
Charlcombe	4	0
Claverton	5	
Whiteoxmead in Wellow	1	0
	40	0
Less Lyncombe	10	0
	30	0

Probably Lyncombe was—like Bathwick, also on the south of the river—an appendage of the Borough of Bath; for its subtraction from the area to the south of the Avon, and its addition to that on the north of the river, give thirty hides to correspond with the thirty cassates purchased from Cynewulf, and eighty-five hides to correspond with the land of the ninety manentium which Heathored surrendered. Thus we have three statements of the extent of the territory of Bath, drawn from different sources at different dates, and yet nearly agreeing with each other:—

676. Osric's grant from the Bath Book gives ... 100 holdings.
781. Heathored's do. Worcester do. ... 90 ,,
1086. Domesday Survey gives ... ... 85 hides.

[1] *C.S.*, 43, 241. [2] Eyton, *Domesday Studies*, Somerset, II., 14.

And on the south of the river the thirty cassates of Heathored's grant answer exactly to the thirty hides of the Survey. The limits of the Domesday Hundred of Bath agree exactly with those of the present Hundred of Bath and the Liberties of Hampton and Claverton. In short, there is good reason for thinking that the territory which Osric, who had been born a heathen, gave as an endowment for his Church at Bath, at a time when the men of Sussex were still heathen, was very nearly the same with the portion of Somerset which lies north of the Avon now.

And the holdings in the constituent manors in Bath Hundred agree with the hidage mentioned in the Survey. For instance, in 956 King Edwy granted to his friend Hehelm "v mansas Hamtun nomine;" in 957 he granted to Bath Abbey "x mansas æt Forda," and about the same time he restored to the Abbey five "mansiunculas æt Westune" which had been stolen from it.[1] In Domesday, Bathampton is rated at five hides, Bathford at ten, and the portion of Weston held by Arnulf de Hesdinc at five.

Olveston and Cold Ashton.

King Edwy granted to Bath Abbey "mansas v æt Ælvestune et alias v mansas æt Æsctune," which he says that Athelstan had given to the Abbey, but of which it had been deprived.[2] In Domesday Olveston and Cold Ashton, each rated at five hides, formed the only possessions of Bath Abbey in Gloucestershire; but it is stated that in each case two hides were quit of geld by grant of Kings Edward and William.

Tidenham.

In 956 King Edwy granted to Bath Abbey "xxx mansas æt Dyddanhame;" between 1061 and 1066 it was leased by the Abbey to Archbishop Stigand, and in the Survey it appears among the king's manors rated at thirty hides.[3]

[1] *C.S.*, 973, 1001, 1009. [2] *C.S.*, 936.
[3] *C.S.*, 927, 928, 929.

CORSTON.

In 972 King Eadgar granted to Bath Abbey "quandam particulam denis ab accolis æstimatam mansiunculis in loco qui dicitur Corsantun;"[1] in Domesday it appears as a possession of Bath Abbey rated at ten hides.

CLIFTUNE.

In 970 King Eadgar granted to Bath Abbey "x cassatos æt Cliftune" in exchange for one hundred mancusses of gold, and "x terræ mansas" at Cumtun.[2] The land-boundaries of Cliftune are given, and among the limits mentioned are these:—"Afene stream healt thone north ende—thone upp on holan weg—of Wodnesdic on fosse streat." But an estate the northern side of which was bounded by the Avon, and which also touched the Wansdyke and the Fosse, could only lie immediately to the south of Bath. I believe the estate conveyed is Lyncombe, which appears in Domesday as a possession of the Abbey of Bath rated at ten hides. Holloway is the street rising from the bridge, and is a part of the Fosse road.

It will be convenient to tabulate the holdings and hidage of the different estates, arranging them in three groups: first, those with regard to which a comparison may fairly be made; then those with regard to which our information is in some way defective; and lastly, cases in which, either with regard to the holdings or the hidage, only a portion of the estate is dealt with.

[1] *C.S.*, 1287. [2] *C.S.*, 1257.

A.D.		Holdings.	Hidage.
779	Sulmonnesburg[1]	4	10
972	Acton Turville	3	5
	Hawkesbury	40	30
	Dyrham	10	10
	Longney	5	5
	Lydney	6	6
	Westbury-on-Trym & Henbury ..	95	98 3
743	Cold Aston	10	10
743	Notgrove	8	5
c. 802	Colesborne	8	8
c. 802	Barnsley	5	5
	Bibury	25	28
814	Lower Guiting	12	12
814	Twining	3	3
969	Saperetun	4	4
889	Elmstone		5
676	Bath	100	85
781	Bath	90	
781	Bath (South of Avon)	30	30
c. 956	Olveston	5	5
c. 956	Cold Ashton	5	5
956	Tidenham	30	30
972	Corston	10	10
956	Bathampton	5	5
957	Bathford	10	10
c. 957	Weston, near Bath	5	5
970	Cliftune (Lyncombe)	10	10

[1] The boundary points coincide with those of the Parish of Bourton-on-the-Water.

In the case of the following six estates, the available information is too defective to allow an exact comparison to be made:—

A.D.		Holdings.	Hidage.
c. 736	Withington & Dowdeswell	—	42 3
781	Icomb	8	—
967	Bickmarsh	—	1
c. 728	Bradanlæh	6	—
855	Poulton	9	5
c. 716	Woodchester	3	—

And finally, in the following three cases the area conveyed by the early grants is evidently not the same with that rated in Domesday:—

A.D.		Holdings.	Hidage.
716	Batsford	8	3
855	Eisey...	5	—
966	Clifford	2	10

These are all the estates in Gloucestershire and North Somerset which are conveyed by original documents, or by charters now preserved in the Worcester and Bath books. Setting aside Sulmonnesburg, which agrees as to the boundaries and disagrees as to the hidage, and also the nine estates contained in the two last groups, we have twenty-five with regard to which a comparison may fairly be made. The documents range over a period of about three centuries—from 676 to 972; but the date of the latest is more than a century before the compilation of Domesday in 1086. In nineteen cases out of the twenty-five there is a precise agreement between the number of holdings and the Domesday hidage; and it will be noticed that where variations occur they are chiefly found in the larger estates, such as Bath, Westbury, and Hawkesbury, which would, of course,

be most liable to dismemberment. A small estate would be transferred as a whole, a large one might very likely be divided. Of the nineteen estates which contained twelve holdings or less, there is a precise agreement in all cases except those of Acton Turville and Notgrove. Acton Turville belonged to a group of estates which were subjected to plunder, and there had been from the beginning some uncertainty with regard to numbers at Notgrove.

It is evident that this agreement is too constant a one to be merely accidental. It seems to point clearly to the fact that the hide of Domesday was a very ancient land-division, which had remained unaltered from generation to generation; that the estates known as "mansi" or "mansiones," or "cassati," were definite well-marked areas, the boundaries of which did not vary. So that, for instance, the land of the "vmanentium" at Aust which Offa confirmed to the Cathedral at Worcester in 794, corresponded to five of the cassates which King Ethelred had granted to Bishop Oftfor in 691, and would have been the same estate which is marked out by King Athelstan's land-boundaries in 929, which was rated at five hides in 1086 and which now forms the Parish of Aust. Certainly the twelve hides of Stoke in 883 correspond to the present tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton.

But by the date of Domesday the system of hidage was an antiquated one. It bore no definite relation either to the acreage or value of the estates, or to the number of ploughs or the population upon them. It represented simply a system of taxation of so many pence upon each holding or homestead, the holdings being reckoned not according to the number then existing, but according to a traditional number which had come down from the earliest times of which our land-charters afford any record. But if this be really so; if the whole area of the country was thus portioned out into estates with invariable boundaries—and certainly the Worcester and Bath charters seem to support this conclusion—the question arises—Whence did this system grow up; who first portioned out the land in this way?

And we can give no answer to such questions. We find these land-divisions much what they were in later times in the earliest land-charters of the end of the seventh century; but there is no direct evidence at all to show how the system arose. This much, however, we may say, that the ancient land-system in Wales was essentially different from that which was in use in England for four centuries before the Norman Conquest. Unless, therefore, we suppose—which seems improbable—that during the Roman occupation there was one land-system to the west of the Wye, and another to the east of that river, we should be led to the conclusion that our forefathers introduced their own land-system when they settled the country. It is a very remarkable thing that we find in the district of Nethergwent, between the Wye and the Usk, a description of which occurs in Domesday immediately after the account of the City of Gloucester, a state of transition from the Welsh land-system to that which was in use in England.

The region had apparently been conquered by Earl Harold in 1063, and settled by Earl William Fitzosbern in 1070, but in 1086 the Welsh land-system still continued on the king's land; it was only on the land which had been portioned out among his subjects, or on the glebe land, that the new system of carucates or hides is found. And this condition of things bears a striking resemblance to that of the West Saxon shires in Domesday; in them also we find the land held by subjects, whether clerical or lay, hidated and paying gheld, but with regard to the ancient estates of the Crown, there always occurs some such formula as this:—"Nunquam geldavit nec scitur quot hidæ sunt ibi;" "Non geldavit nec hidata fuit." The coincidence may, of course, be merely accidental; but it may also, and very likely it does, give an instance, on a small scale, in the eleventh century of a process that had been carried out all over the region that was becoming England from five to seven hundred years before.

And this fact of the great antiquity of the hide as a

measure of area must be taken into account in any theory of the nature of the Domesday hide. Mr. Eyton, for instance, in his works on Domesday, regards the hide as merely an unit of rating to which afterwards the seeming and repute of an areal measure came to be attached. He writes of it thus[1]:— "When in the days of King Ethelred (979—1016), the country was surveyed and sub-divided for the purposes of equal taxation, the hide was accepted as the basis of assessment. Then, too, we may be sure, the hidage of most counties, and of Dorset among the rest, was scrutinised and re-adjusted; then the lands were not measured indeed, still less re-measured, but were so divided and parcelled as to bring one hide into fair comparison with another. And here again the hide virtually, though not designedly, assumes still more the seeming of an areal measure.

"Summarily, then, when the Dorset Domesday uses the word 'hide,' it uses it as a thing of record; it uses it of such a quantity of land as had been determined to be a hide and to be geldable as a hide, by the taxation of King Ethelred, or by subsequent fiscal authority." That is to say, the hide of Domesday is an unit of rating which acquired its extent and value within the century before the compilation of the great Record.

But the testimony of the land-charters and of some of the land-boundaries is clean contrary to this theory of the hide. They show that in very many cases, and so far as the Worcester and Bath charters which refer to Gloucestershire and North Somerset are concerned, in the great majority of cases, the hidage of Domesday precisely represents the number of holdings on the estate before the death of King Eadgar. They distinctly negative the idea that there was in the time of King Ethelred any dividing out and parcelling of the lands so as to bring one hide into fair comparison with another. The anomalies which existed among the hides of Domesday had evidently existed among the holdings two or three centuries before. It would have been strange indeed if

[1] *Key to Domesday*, Dorset, p. 4.

these anomalies had not existed, for our forefathers did not lay out the land they settled into equal areas like the homesteads in the Western States of America.

Mr. Eyton found himself obliged to account for the anomalies of the Domesday hidation by an elaborate theory that the weight of rating was made artificially light or heavy on particular estates by Royal authority. The land-charters show that the anomalies existed long before the time of King Ethelred, probably from the time of the original settlement of the country.

With regard to Dorset, Mr. Eyton mentions three districts of excessive hidation—one around Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, another in the Isle of Purbeck and the neighbouring Hundred of Winfrode, the third in the vicinity of Blandford.[1] The first two may very well represent the original settlements of a party of invaders who were crowded together because they were unable to obtain a territory adequate to their needs; and Blandford lies in a very fertile portion of the valley of the Stour, where invaders would naturally most thickly settle, just as good land by the banks of a river is always the first portion to be taken up in a newly settled district now.

So in our own shire the hides are smallest, *i.e.* on this view the original settlements lay most thickly together, in the Hundred of Celflede by the Warwickshire Avon, Teodechesberie by the Avon and Severn, Cirecestre by the Churn, and Gersdone by the Churn and Ampney Brook: the hides are largest, *i.e.* the original settlements were most scattered, in the forest Hundreds of Barton by Bristol, Bachestane, and Langelei, which included the forests of Kingswood and Horwood; in the Hundred of Berchelai which included another Kingswood; and in the Hundreds of Botelav and Tuiferde near the Forest of Dene.

If we take the view suggested by the land-charters that the hides of Domesday represent the ancient holdings, it is easy to see that they would form a very natural basis for

[1] *Key to Domesday*, Dorset, p. 11.

taxation; that much as the land-tax in later times took the form of an assessment on each parish, so in the time of King Ethelred the Danegheld was assessed at so many pence on each hide; or, as the Chronicle for A.D. 1008 informs us, every 310 hides throughout the kingdom were required to provide a ship, and from every eight hides a coat of mail was exacted. The ancient land-division became an area of taxation, just as the parish became an area of taxation for the purpose of the land-tax; and it is as an unit for the collection of a tax that was happily nearly obsolete that the hide appears on the page of Domesday as the least practically interesting portion of each entry.

But if we regard the Domesday hidage as a record of the number of ancient holdings in each estate, then it becomes for antiquarian purposes the most valuable part of the entry, because it gives us an insight into the arrangement of the holdings, perhaps from the very period of the settlement of the country, certainly from the earliest period to which the land-charters reach.

It would be a matter of great interest and archæological importance to determine whether such an agreement between the number of ancient holdings and the hides recorded in Domesday can be traced in other shires as exists in Gloucestershire and North Somerset. Heming's *Cartulary* would afford a basis for such a comparison in Worcestershire, and there would seem to be charters relating to the estates of Christ Church at Canterbury and Rochester Cathedral available for comparison with Domesday entries of lands in Kent and Surrey. But work of this kind can only be usefully undertaken by those who are well acquainted with the localities dealt with.

THE REGISTER OF THE CHAPEL OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF CIRENCESTER.

By the Rev. E. A. FULLER, M.A.

Our late learned Editor, Sir John Maclean, when writing a paper in our Transactions for 1887-88 about the very few remaining Inventories and Receipts for Church Goods in this County, at the Inquisition held at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., drew attention to the fact that nearly all of these documents had perished. Seventeen years before, when I made a fruitless search for them, it was still possible that, among the unexamined collections of papers then lately brought into the Rolls' Office, some more documents of this class might be discovered; but by the time Sir John Maclean wrote his paper that hope was gone, and we may take it as a fact that there are none left in existence but the very few which he then printed. Nor is this wonderful. The purpose of those Returns, made in the several parishes to the Royal Inquisitions, was fulfilled when the King had received the various articles named in them. At that period there was no thought of the Record Office as a repository of antiquarian documentary treasures, with a Literary Search Department attached to it; so that there was no reason why any special care should be taken of them. Thus, considering how recklessly large classes of really important documents were stowed away until the building of the present Rolls' Office, it is fortunate that such records exist for any county. In another direction, however, there is one record connected with the Church of St. John Baptist at Cirencester still in existence. Among the Dugdale Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, No. 42 is the Register Book of the Wardens of the Lady Chapel within that Parish Church; and in that register

is an inventory of the Church goods belonging to the chapel, of about the year 1460, which is here printed.

Although it was not till 1392, 16 Rich. II., that the license under the Mortmain Acts for the legal foundation of the chantry was sought for, and obtained on the payment of £10; yet the chantry had then existed for over a hundred and fifty years. The earliest chapel formed part apparently of the first reconstruction of the Church about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the structural witness is confirmed by documentary evidence. In the register there are some thirty-two pages of deeds, the greater number of which bear dates through the reigns of Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II. The earlier deeds are, with one exception, undated; but the names of the witnesses to them, compared with similar names in other dated records in the Abbey Cartularies, early Assize Rolls, and such like documents, show that they may have been made at various times from the year 1200 onwards. The only one bearing a date is of the year 1258. A few of them are of interest in relation to Cirencester. One of about 1250 contains the earliest mention of Crowthorn that I have met with (f. 12a.); a certain acre is described as "lying along the Greenway between Crowthorn and Baudinton," thus identifying the place of meeting of the rural hundred of Cirencester or Crowthorn as at the point of junction of the roads just outside Stratton to the north. Another of the same period recites the foundation of the chapel (f. 16a.), which was not a private family chantry: "The chaplain has been appointed by all the parishioners of Cirencester to celebrate the Divine Service daily in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the most blessed and ever Virgin Mary on behalf of the whole parish;" while the donor goes on to name Richard Erkenbald and three other persons on whose behalf he desires special intercession to be made. A third (f. 7a.) accordingly contains a grant of two messuages, which "are to remain within the power of the parishioners;" and the next in order makes a grant for the purpose that "the service which has been begun through the zeal and patronage of good men may

be even better and more worthily maintained." Of course when in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. surveys of the Church and chantries were made, the name of William Erchebaud, which stands first among the thirteen men who obtained the license in Mortmain in 1392, is put prominently forward. But though the names of members of that family appear often among the witnesses to deeds, for some of the messuages given were on the Sub-Manor of Archebald's, yet I have not noted a single gift by one of that name. The first of these two deeds on f. 7a. grants "two messuages at Gildenbridge which are upon the running water." And a comparison of this deed with others in the Abbey Cartularies (A. f. 92b.) shows that the Gildenbridge was the ancient name of the bridge at the top of Gloucester Street, over the Churn, as it runs down the mill stream to the Barton Mill, then known as the Mill of Richard Clark. The earliest recorded name for this mill is "my Mill of Wiggewald held by Hugh the Miller," under which title it was granted by Manasseh Bisset, lord of Wigwold,[1] early in the reign of Henry II., to Eynesham Abbey—the King confirming the grant, for the Earldom of Hereford was then in his hands. The Abbot of Eynesham afterwards granted the mill as "our Mill of Wiggewald which Hugh Mace (or in another deed Maesc) held of us."[2] Later on it came into the possession of Cirencester Abbey as "the Mill with two Crofts adjoining called Maz Mill," or "Maies Mull;" the donor charging it with a reserved rent to Eynesham Abbey. From the reign of Henry III., when Richard Clerk was the tenant, the mill was commonly called Clerk's Mille, and under this name it appears in the "Rentale" at the end of this register. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 it is called both "Mayes Mille" and "Clerkyn Mills" or "Clerks Mylle;" while in the accounts sent into the Augmentation Office after the dissolution of Cirencester Abbey the name Barton Mill first appears: "that mill called Clerks Mylls or Barton Mills." The original

[1] *Monasticon*, III., 21-23.

[2] *Cirencester Abbey Cartularies*, A. 59 a.; B. 502-503.

name however was not lost, at any rate till the eighteenth century, for in the Parish Church terrier of 1718[1] mention is made of "two grounds called May's Mill." The name Gildenbridge points to the action of some unknown guild or fraternity, and that of early date; for the building of the first bridge there will have been necessary, as soon as the mill dam was formed crossing the line of the Roman road; and the building of the mill probably coincides with the separation off of Wigwold from the Manor of Cirencester by William Fitzosbern soon after 1066.

At present there is only one Cirencester document remaining out of the returns made in 1389 of the Guilds and Confraternities, and that recites the origin of the Trinity Guild in the reign of Edward III.[2] There were two other Confraternities at the time of the Commissions of Enquiry in 1546 and 1548; viz., those of St. Katherine and St. John Baptist; but the object of both, in the return of 1546, is said to be the maintenance of the Parish Church, while their origin had been forgotten.

Another deed of the same period,[3] the reign of Henry III., locates in Dyer Street "the principal house of Richard de Pyrie," *i.e.* the Manor House of the other of the two Sub-Manors within the Manor of Cirencester. A sixth, dated 1348,[4] identifies the brass of the Bristol citizen, with a G[5] on his girdle and his feet on a wine tun, in the Lady Chapel as being that of "John Gotorest, citizen and wine merchant of Bristol." A deed in the Abbey Cartularies[6] mentions that Gotorest had a house in Castle Street, Cirencester, "called from ancient times Gotorests," which shows that the connection with Cirencester was of long standing. The same Lady Chapel deed is witnessed by two

[1] Kilner MSS.

[2] *Chancery Misc. Rolls*, No. 2; *Gilds and Fraternities Returns*, 1—10.

[3] f. 2 a. [4] f. 7 b.

[5] The Rev. W. E. Hadow, in his paper of the Cirencester Brasses—*Transactions*, Vol. II., 182,—mistook this letter for a T.

[6] B. 514.

other men of Bristol mercantile families, John de Canynges,[1] and William de Beaupigne. And yet another deed of 1350[2] mentions William de Beaupigne as holding a tenement under the Feoffees of the chapel, who also possessed another tenement the gift of John de Canynges. One more deed should be mentioned[3] of the year 1348, in which the chapel is designated as "the Chapel of the Blessed Mary of the Charnell," the chapel being constructed with a charnel vault extending, below, over the whole of the area. The vault itself has not been used for the purpose of a repository of the bones dug up in the churchyard for a long period, there having been successive enlargements of the churchyard, so that there was no need to disturb old graves as in earlier days. When the vault was opened in 1867, for the purpose of using the western end of it for the furnace of the heating apparatus, several feet of the eastern end were found completely filled up; an outer wall had been made of the bones of arms and legs, and the skulls and other bones had been stacked behind. The bones of a large number of later bodies were lying loosely in front. These were gathered together, and a wall was then built across the vault. The following deed is the latest[4]:—"On the 27th day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1464, Richard, by the grace of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Suffragan of Dom John,[5] by divine permission Lord Bishop of Worcester, granted to all and singular, who celebrate in the Chapel of the Chantry of the blessed Mary in the Church of St. John Baptist in Cirencester at the times of the purification of women, and to all too who hear mass, forty days indulgence to endure in all times." There is a rental which begins on fol. 18, and a terrier follows on fol. 19b.

The Inventory of the goods of the chapel begins on fol. 21; but there are some entries on the fly-leaf at the beginning of

[1] The name of John Cannyngs appears among the witnesses of a deed dated October 28, 1334, belonging to the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol. [2] f. 16 b. [3] f. 3 b. [4] f. 21.

[5] "Domini Domini Johannis permissione divina Wigornie episcopi."

the book dealing with the same matter, and noting certain legacies that had lately been given to the chapel:—

The yere[1] of oure lord M[L]CCCCLVIII. John Reynolds the younger, and Robert Jones, the Wardens of the Chapel of the blessed Mary in the Church of St. John Baptist at Cirencestre, received of the legacy of Alice Sende a bride's veil[2] of cotyn, and of the legacy of Alice Wellys a bride's veil of crispe, and of the legacy of Sir John Pratt[3] j corporas,[4] and of the legacy of Agnes Raide ij pillous[5] for the altar, and of the legacy of Agnes Wyborowe j ring, and of the legacy of the daughter of John Eyre j girdle with xxx barris of silver of the value of xx*s*, and of the legacy of William Gydney C*s* for j Egylle. Also j selkyn kerchoff was offered.

In the year of our Lord one thousand CCCCLXI and in the first year of the reign of King Edward the fourth William Brome and William Bodyngton, the Wardens of the Chapel of the blessed Mary in the Church of St. John Baptist at Cirencestre, received and recovered from John Eyre a girdle of silk with xxx barris of silver and gilded, also of the legacy. . . (Here the entry breaks off.)

On folio 21 is this entry:—

Be it remembered that Henry Garstange of Cirencestre gave, on the tenth day of the month of September in the year of our lord one thousand CCCCLXIIII, to William Hampton, chaplain of the chantry of the blessed Mary in Cirencestre aforesaid, and to his successors for ever, a bound bible[6] with

[1] The original is partly in English and partly in Latin. The English spelling is given where that occurs.

[2] Flamiolum.

[3] He was one of the Chantry priests. A later chaplain of the same name is mentioned in the will of H. Garstang, who died in 1464, two of the witnesses being the chaplains William Hampton and John Pratte. From the MS. of the Rev. S. Carles (see Vol. XVII., 317) this second John Pratt died in 1470.

[4] A linen cloth used in the service of the Mass. [5] To rest books on.

[6] Bibleam. In H. Garstang's will, proved 24th September, 1464, there is a bequest to the Chapel of St. Edmund of a primer to be chained in the Church.

iiij silvered markers, and covered with a cloth of red and gold.[1]

Then follows:—

Thys is an Inventorie of all ye ornaments of Seynt Mary Chapel.

A portowos[2]
A masboke
A paris oculy[3]
ij chalys of selver overgylt
ij crewets of selver
Pax[4] of sylver
viij auter clothis
xij towelles
a cope a chesipil with
ij tynyclys iij stolis
ii phanons[5] w^t^ the awbe
y' to ye whyche is calde
ye best sewt of ye chapel
a peyre vestements for sondays
of clothe of golde
a peyre vestements for
werkedays and an odde
awbe for to change.
iij caces copras w^t^ the
corpras yer'to
ij frontelles
ij crewets of pewtur
a pakes[6] of tree
ij veylis of whyt
vj steyned clothis

[1] "Blodio aureo." [2] A breviary; in Latin *portiforium*.

[3] See further on.

[4] Or Osculatory. "A piece of wood or metal with a handle, something like a flat iron, with our Lord's Passion represented on the front. This was kissed by the priest at the words *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, and was afterwards passed round to be kissed by the congregation. This practice superseded the ancient kiss of charity."—Peacock's *Church Furniture*.

[5] Maniples. [6] Pax of wood.

ij crossis
iij dysshis of copres
iiij pallis
ij keverlyts
xi bankers[1]
a pelowe of seke
ij canstyks of laton[2] to
ye aut'
v olde chesiplis and oth' olde
gere bond to ged'
and olde veyle of pty
iij casis for wax
x peyr bedys of lambur
ij peyr bedys of get
a peyr of get langets[4] w^t viii
gawdyes[5] of sylv' ov'gylt with a ryng
of sylv' y^t were Agnes Daglynworth
a peyr bedys coral w^th a xi gawdys
of sylv' of the gyft of Will^m Throm
ij crucifyx of silv' ov'gylt
ij ryngs of gold
ij brochis of sylv' ov'gylt
ij brochis of copre
a cornacle[6]

[1] Carpet or cloth coverings for benches.

[2] A mixed metal something like brass, made in Germany, and used largely for incised tombstones in churches. [3] Party.

[4] A name for beads of jet. See Bury Wills, Camden Society, p. 239: "j peyr bedys of le geet vocat' langget." Beads of jet were regarded as of extraordinary virtue.

[5] Every tenth bead was called a gaude. The gaudes for Paternosters, the beads for Aves.

[6] "*Cornacle:* A little horn, possibly the support of the 'horned' head-dress which was fashionable at that time. Or it may be a scent-bottle: 'Item unum Cornicellum plenum balsami.' Inventar: thes. Sedis Apostolici A.D. 1295."—Ducange. *Cornicle:* Diminutive (of Cornu, horn); a little horn.—Webster. *Corniculum:* A little horn, &c. Also a kind of ornament presented by the general to soldiers for their good service, and worn on their helmets. "In Macedoniâ corniculo, mox equo meruit."—Livy.

a garlonde of perle
a corse[1] of goldwy[r]
a gyrdyl y harnyst w[t] selv' pty corse
w[t] xi barris a pte ygylt w[th] bocle t
pennants the gyft Agnes Yong
xxi Carchaff Broke t hole
a Kerchow of sylke
a ryng of sylv' t ov'gylt } of ye gefte of Crystyan Tinkere
a nu kerchon of umpull
of ye bequeste of Ysbell Mylward
a peyre of bedys of lambure[2]
of ye bequeste of Jonet Bakyn
w[th] j ryng ov gyld t ij brochys of sylv'
a crusifyx of sylv'
a purse of cloth of gold w[th]
a ryng of sylv'
a gurdyle of sylke w[th] xxi
barrys t a plate w[th] ye boxyle[3]
and ye pendante
the book which is called pars oculi[4] has been deposited in the charge of Sir W. Whytchyrch by the hands of Thomas Gurdeler, the warden of the aforesaid chapel.

[1] The body girdle which went round the body immediately above the hips, frequently very costly. [2] Amber. [3] Buckle.

[4] I take the following note from Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd Ed., Vol. II., lxxxix.:—

"The *Pupilla Oculi* (*i.e.* the pupil of the eye) once a very famous book, is now exceedingly rare, and but little known; nor do I know that it has been printed since the Reformation. As I have had occasion to quote the work frequently, the reader will not object, probably, to seeing the full title; from which he will be able to form some judgement as to the contents, and the value of them, as a record of the practice and opinions of the clergy of the English Church during the Middle Ages. (I translate the title.) 'Pupilla Oculi, most necessary for all presbyters, especially of England; by the very wise guide of divine worship, John de Burgh, formerly Chancellor of the holy *(almæ)* University of Cambridge, and professor of the sacred page, also rector of the Church of Colingham; compiled in the year from our Lord's birth MCCCLXXXV. In which is treated of the seven sacraments, of the ten precepts of the decalogue, and

a purse of redde ffelewatte[1]
ij grete standertes of latyn of ye
gyfte of W^m^ Geteney
a rynge of sylvyr t overgylte of Jenatte Landrak
a rynge of sylvyr t overgylte of John Dyar
a rynge of sylvyr t overgylte of John Bailly
a towelle of Mawde Thryfte
The yer of our Lord A° MCCCCLVII
Will Compton t John Reynolds ye younger wer wardenys of our ladi chapell and yn the saide date Harri Garstang have ihonouryd þ^s^ forsaid chappell wyþ worshipfull vestementes y^t^ ys to saye ij whit copys t chisypl ij tuniclys w^th^ purtenance yn on sute. Item Wyll' Gydney ij laton stonders to stond before ye autere. Item Cecily Roche byqueþe a sylvyr ryng overgyld ye wezt iijd t ob. Item a sylvyr ryng overgyld ye which was found yn ye chirch ye wezt xd.

This is not a list of very valuable articles; they are votive offerings of the ordinary inhabitants of a country town—veils, kerchiefs, rings, brooches, girdles, one pearl necklace, with a number of rosaries of amber and a few of jet, besides the necessary furniture and ornaments of the

other ecclesiastical duties which it behoves a properly taught priest not be ignorant of; now first revised with great accuracy, and put forth into the light in very terse phrase. At the cost of the very honest and faithful merchant Wilhelm Bretton. Paris, Wolfgang Hopylins, 1510, fol.' I may add that a Pupilla is referred to, earlier than this of De Burgh, in a sentence of excommunication settled by a Provincial Council of York in 1311. See Wilkins' *Concilia*, II., 414."

The Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, at f. xliv. of his introduction to *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston* for the Henry Bradshaw Society, says:—"John de Burgh tells us that he based his *Pupilla Oculi* upon an earlier manual called *Oculus Sacerdotis*. This consisted of various portions with fancy names, '*dextra pars oculi*,' '*sinistra pars*,' '*cilium oculi sacerdotis*,' &c. Hence we frequently find in inventories, wills, and catalogues, *Pars Oculi* as the title of a manuscript." The Book called *Pars Oculi* was therefore a directory for the priest in public worship.

[1] Velvet.

chapel. Still, with the silver chalices and cruets and the crucifixes, the whole was worth sundry pounds. At the first inquisition, however, at the beginning of the Reformation period in 1546, the return made was that the wardens had no plate in their possession; and though at the next inquisition in 1548 they owned to ornaments worth 29s. 6d., they again replied that they had no plate or jewels. In fact, none of the eight chantries owned to any plate, except the Nottingham service, against which is a note that they had possessed a chalice, but that it had already been seized and sent to London. The ordinary explication of this is that the wardens of the chantries had privately disposed of their most valuable goods in anticipation of what was coming, preferring to use the proceeds of such sale themselves locally to sending their valuables away to London to the King's use. There is extant among the State Papers of the reign of Edward VI.[1] the draft of a letter from the Council on such alienation of Church goods:—"The King's matie hath been advertised that a grete number of his maties subjectes forgetting their bounden duties of obedience have presumed contrary to his highnes drad comaundmentes to allien and sell away both the vestiments plate Jwelles & ornamentes and in many places the bells & lead also of their churches and chapeles applying the money therof either to their own vses or to such other private vses as themselfes listed;" therefore the Lord Protector and the Council appoint commissioners who are to take inventories, and the justices "shall take undelayed order for the stay of any such sale or alienacon and comit the chief attemptors thereof to prison for suche tyme as ye shall think convenient & for such plate Juelles ornamentes belles or leadd as haue byn alienated contrary to his maties sayd comandments att any tyme witin one yer afore the dat herof except the sayd alienation was mad by the comen assent of the parish and ye money therof applied to any comen good vse by the lyk assent." Presumably the Wardens of the Chantries at Cirencester may have been able

[1] State Papers. Domestic, Edw. VI., V. 6, No. 25.

to bring themselves under this exception. In the case of the Lady Chapel we know from the entry made in the report of Thomas Sternholde, one of the King's Commissioners under the Act of 1548, that about three years before the parishioners had with their whole assent appointed "our Ladyes Service to be counted to the keeping of a Schole;"[1] so that coincidently with this diversion they may have suppressed the service entirely, and sold the altar plate; the 29s. 6d. representing merely the value of the altar furniture, and thus the Wardens would have escaped harmless, for the appropriation of the chantry to the maintenance of a school was confirmed by the Commissioner for Grammar Schools.

The eagle lectern, purchased in 1460 for £5, apparently was counted as parochial, and not belonging exclusively to the Lady Chapel, for an old one was worth £2, that being the price at which "one Egle for a lettern" was sold out of the Church at Boston in Lincolnshire in 1553.[2] It is possibly this same eagle, which appears in an inventory of Church goods in the Vestry Book of Cirencester in 1614, and again in 1673, after which it disappears.

[1] See Vol. XI.

[2] Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 223.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

SPRING GENERAL AND LOCAL MEETINGS.

GLOUCESTER, BRISTOL, AND STROUD.

April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1894.

IT had been arranged that instead of holding the Spring Meeting, as usual, at one centre of Archæological interest in the Shire, the General Meeting should be held at Gloucester on Tuesday, April 24th, and should be followed by evening meetings at Gloucester, Bristol, and Stroud, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th respectively, at which H. S. Pearson, Esq., Delegate from the Birmingham and Midland Institute (Archæological Section) to the Congress of Archæological Societies, at Burlington House, in 1893, had very kindly undertaken to give an account of the Photographic Survey of Warwickshire, illustrated by examples of the platinotypes executed in connection with the survey.

MEETING AT GLOUCESTER, APRIL 24.

THE Spring General Meeting (which was preceded by a Council and a Committee meeting) in connection with the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society was, by the kind permission of the Mayor, held in the Guildhall. The president, Mr. Russell J. Kerr, occupied the chair, and among those present, besides ladies, were: Sir Brook-Kay, Bart., the Revs. Melland Hall, L Wilkinson, Silvester Davies, T. Holbrow, and Messrs. E. Raitt, V. R. Perkins, H. Medland, C. H. Dancey, D'Argent, E. S. Hartland, G. Sheffield Blakeway, C. H. Stanton, Groves Morris, and J. Mills.

The Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY (joint secretary) presented his special report of the Council to the meeting, which stated *inter alia* that the finances of the Society, a report of which will be presented to the summer annual meeting, were perfectly satisfactory. The Council recommended that a piece of silver plate, with a suitable inscription, should be presented to Sir John Maclean as a lasting memorial of the appreciation of the Society of his learning as an antiquary and his services as editor of the Society's *Transactions*, *The Lives of the Berkeleys*, &c., &c. The Council had asked the Rev. C. S. Taylor, vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, to succeed Sir John Maclean, and he had kindly undertaken to act as editor

for the year, and the members were asked that day to confirm his appointment. Mr. Taylor had thought it best under those circumstances to resign his office as joint general secretary, and until a gentleman living in or near Bristol, and able and willing to act, be asked to succeed him, Mr. Bazeley would act alone as he had done for many years previous to Mr. Taylor's appointment. The Council proposed that a photographic survey of the county be commenced under the auspices of the Society, that an executive committee be appointed to draw up a scheme for carrying out such a survey, and that such committee consist of three delegates from each photographic society in the county and as many members of that Society as should be equal in number to all the other representatives. When this photographic survey was suggested to the Council it was contemplated that it should be confined to archæology, and such a survey only would be inaugurated by that Society. If, however, it was generally wished that the survey should be extended to other studies, such as natural history, geology, botany, &c., representatives for the various societies and clubs connected with such studies would naturally be invited to join the executive committee with a view to drawing up rules for the scheme thus enlarged. The Council was very grateful to Mr. H. S. Pearson for so kindly consenting to come as the Society's guest, and speak at the local meetings on three consecutive evenings on the photographic survey of Gloucestershire. The Council had much pleasure in reporting that Sir Michael Biddulph, Esq., M.P., had kindly consented to act as president of the Society for 1894-5. The annual summer meeting would be held under his presidency at Ledbury about the 24th, 25th, or 26th of July. The vacancies on the Council for Stroud, Cheltenham, &c., had been temporarily filled up by appointing Mr. Morton Ball, of Strond, Mr. Edward Gael, and the Rev. Arthur Jennings.

The Chairman, referring to the very able manner in which Sir John Maclean had taken up and conducted the editorship of the Society's "Transactions" for the past sixteen years, expressed the great regret he, and he was sure all of them, felt at his retirement from the office. So far as the proposal for the presentation of a piece of plate was concerned, he would be only too happy to support it, but arrangements up to the present had not been completed.—The Rev. Wm. Bazeley said with regard to the same subject Mr. Wilfred J. Cripps had kindly undertaken to select the piece of plate, and he and Sir Brook-Kay, Bart., and himself would confer as to the inscription to be placed upon it. The presentation would have to be made as soon as possible, because he was afraid Sir John Maclean was very ill, and no doubt his health was in an alarming state at the present time. The report and recommendations were adopted.

The report of the Church Plate Committee was then presented to the meeting by the Rev. Melland Hall, as follows:—"Your Committee appointed on the 27th April, 1893, to enquire into the Church Plate now remaining in the diocese report that they have held four meetings (by the courtesy of the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester) in the Guildhall. The form of enquiry, drawn up carefully by the general secretary, the Rev. W. Bazeley,

was duly circulated. It was thought well that Secretaries should be appointed for each of the three Archdeaconries, in accordance with which the Rev. Melland Hall was appointed for the Archdeaconry of Gloucester, the Rev. C. S. Taylor for that of Bristol, and Mrs. Broome Witts for the Archdeaconry of Cirencester. These were to endeavour to secure representatives for each deanery as soon as possible. The following arrangements were accordingly made:—For Gloucester (city parishes), Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Mr. Medland, Mr. Dancy; for Gloucester (rural parishes), Mrs. Blakeway. For Cheltenham Deanery, Mr. A. le Blanc, Miss Parkinson, Mr. C. E. Gael. For Winchcombe, Mrs. Dent. For Dursley, Mr. V. Perkins, Mr. Treeby. For Stonehouse, Rev. A. C. and Mrs. Jennings, Mr. W. Leigh. For Campden, Northleach, and Stow, Mrs. Broome Witts. For Bisley, Mrs. Dyer-Edwardes, Mrs. Hyett. For North Forest, Rev. L. Wilkinson; for South Forest, Mrs. Bagnall Oakeley, Rev. Canon Jones. Progress is reported thus:—Returns received: Gloucester (city) 7, Gloucester (rural) 11, Dursley 10, Stonehouse 6, Winchcombe 8, Cheltenham 14, North Forest 12, South Forest 8. Considerable work has been done in Campden, Northleach, and Stow Deaneries, but in that of Bisley there have been unavoidable delays. The Secretary for the Bristol Archdeaconry reports that the plate of 40 parishes had been examined, whilst the majority of the rural churches had been left for the summer. The Committee gratefully report that they have had the valuable assistance of Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., and also that a Sheet of Types has been most carefully drawn up by the Rev. A. C. and Mrs. Jennings, which will be a most useful guide in the enquiry into the Church Plate of the Diocese and County, and such as is possessed, as they are informed, by no other society."

The Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY said the work of the Church Plate Committee was going on so well that he hoped by October they would be able to feel within a comparatively short distance of having that interesting work published for the members. The work was an important one from many points. One or two clergymen seemed inclined to object to their seeing their plate, because they argued that by letting it be publicly known where valuable plate was, attempts might be made to steal it. To prove the contrary of this, the speaker gave an instance where Mr. Wilfred J. Cripps saw a piece of church plate exposed for sale in a shop window in London, and remembering that he had some time previously examined the cup, he was able to get the vessel restored to the church from whence it had been stolen. If thieves knew that church plate was thoroughly described they would think twice before stealing it. At the present day there was rather a craving for pre-Reformation plate, while the Queen Anne and Elizabethan plate is beginning to be despised, much in the same way that at one time there was a great rage for stamping out in their cathedrals and churches everything that did not come within the limits of Gothic architecture. At the present moment he knew cases of the proposed sale of several pieces of church plate, because they were not interesting enough from a pre-Reformation point of view. The churchwardens were

really the guardians of those valuables, and they ought to know that no parish officers have a right to sell church plate without a faculty from the Chancellor. He trusted that their Chancellor was not the sort of man who would give authority to sell a piece of plate of Charles I. because it was desired to have a new cup of another form. He knew three or four parishes in the county where such sales were contemplated, but hoped successful efforts would be made to prevent them.

The report having been adopted, at the request of the Chairman, Mr. H. S. Pearson, a delegate from the Birmingham and Midland Institute (Archæological Section) to the Congress of Archæological Societies, at Burlington House, in 1893, gave a short account of the photographic survey of Warwickshire.

Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A., B.C.L., editor of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, then addressed the Society on the subject of the British Record Society, and also on the custody of Local Records. In connection with the first of these subjects, he said the Society was unique in at least two respects: firstly, it was the only learned society that was incorporated under the Limited Liability Companies' Act; and, secondly, the shareholders took no profits. Proceeding, the speaker gave an interesting account of the work of the Society, which was founded for the purpose of printing indexes and calenders to such records as are of value and utility to the historian, the genealogist, and topographer. There was no lack of material for the operations of such a Society, as instances of which Mr. Phillimore mentioned such records as the "Feet of Fines," "Subsidy Rolls," and others which are in the Public Record Office, calendars and indexes to which were urgently needed, not only by workers at home, but by those also in America and in our colonies. The Society therefore appealed not only to individuals, but also, especially, to public libraries, literary institutions, historical societies, and the like, to become subscribers to the Index Library, and thus hasten forward that movement for rendering accessible our ancient records which had of late years received so great an impetus. He hoped the Gloucestershire Archæological Society would join with them, together with other different local societies, and thus enable a great deal more work of local interest to be done than hitherto. After referring to the various volumes the Society had already published, and the work contemplated for the immediate future, in reply to a question from one of the members present, he said the contributions of a local society would be about £4 or £5, the price of a sheet of 16 pages.—The Rev. Wm. Bazeley proposed, the Rev. T. Holbrow seconded, and it was carried:—"That this meeting has heard with interest what Mr. Phillimore has said with regard to the advisability of a joint arrangement with the British Record Society, Limited, for the publication of early Gloucestershire records, similar to those already made in Wiltshire and other counties, and they would call the attention of the Council to the matter." With reference to the question of the custody of local records, Mr. Phillimore said at present their custody was a most unsatisfactory one. In Scotland and in Ireland records were generally taken great care of, and the Govern-

ment spent a considerable sum of money on them in Dublin and in Edinburgh. But England had to wait a great deal while her more fortunate sisters were being attended to. The consequence was that local records (registers of births, marriages, and deaths, probate records, &c.) were going to rack and ruin. Personally he would strongly protest against their removal to London, because he thought it would be most injurious to archæology at large to have them aggregated say in Fetter Lane. (Hear, hear.) His theory was that in each county a district office should be formed and managed by a responsible body of delegates, county councillors, and others, upon whom would devolve the duty of looking after the records. Those engaged in the daily production of records were, he thought, from the very nature of their occupation unfitted to be record keepers. In the course of further remarks he alluded to 40 or 50 parishes in Gloucestershire whose registers were noted for their antiquity, and referred to the work upon which he was engaged in the reproduction of the registers of King Stanley. It was already proposed to introduce a Bill into Parliament, it was hoped this session, to provide for the formation of county record offices. It had been before the Municipal Corporations Association, in reference to the custody of borough records, and several other societies, and he was anxious to get the approval and support of that Society.—Mr. W. BAZELEY expressed an opinion that some opposition would doubtless be met with on the part of some of the clergy and parishioners in parting with their registers to some central place of keeping in the county. Copies, however, might be taken of them, and, after being duly certified, these could be sent to a county record office.—The Rev. T. HOLBROW said in 1596 or 1597 there was an order made for the transcript of all registers then existing, and the incumbent of each parish had to certify their correctness by signing his name at the foot of each copy. Therefore, with the help and resources of the present day there ought not to be any difficulty for something of the kind to be done now. Personally he would hail with pleasure any step that was taken to make completely public the interesting information their registers contained, but he would not have the registers themselves taken away.—The CHAIRMAN also spoke of the need of such work being undertaken, and referred to the valuable services the Corporation of Gloucester had rendered in getting out the two most interesting volumes of records applying to the town. He felt that the Society was indebted to them for what they had done. (Hear, hear.) The County Council had already appointed a special commission to take into consideration the arranging and indexing of the records deposited in the Shire Hall, and he hoped in time they would be able to produce some sort of record somewhat similar to that produced by the Corporation of Gloucester.—Mr. PHILLIMORE then proposed, "That this Society desires to call attention to the general unsatisfactory condition both as regards safety and accessibility of our local records, and requests the Council to consider any proposal brought forward for establishing a district record office," but his proposal was not seconded or put to the meeting.—Mr. BAZELEY promised to call the attention of the Council to the matter.

The members then adjourned for tea, and at 8 p.m. a meeting was held in the large room of the Guildhall, when Mr. H. S. Pearson gave an interesting and detailed account of the photographic survey of Warwickshire. The Mayor (Mr. J. A. Matthews) was announced to take the chair, but he wrote excusing his attendance in consequence of the prolonged sitting of the City Council in the afternoon. The City High Sheriff (Mr. J. M. Collett) kindly took his place. The Rev. Wm. Bazeley, after announcing that the Gloucester Archæological Society had decided to take up the matter of an archæological survey of the county, said of course the Society would be powerless to do the work without the help of those interested and skilled in the art of photography, and therefore those societies interested in such art had been invited to attend the meeting, to consider the subject and co-operate with them in the work. It was proposed that the executive committee should consist of part photographers and part archæologists; so the photographers might draw up such rules as would be necessary to procure perfect examples of their art, and those who studied archæology might draw up a list of objects to be photographed, so that the two branches would be worked hand in hand, and between them they would produce such a survey as they would hear had been made in Warwickshire.

Mr. Pearson stated that it was in 1889 that the subject of a photographic survey for Warwickshire was first brought before the Birmingham Photographic Association. In 1890 a survey council was appointed, and since that time no less than 2,100 permanent records (photographs) of archæological interest in the county had been taken. Two public exhibitions of these pictures had been held, and 1,600 of the prints had been presented to the city of Birmingham, at a public meeting at which the Mayor presided. These had been placed in the Public Library, where they had found a home, and were easy to refer to. The remaining portion of the photographs would also find their way to the same building. He explained the details of the arrangements made for the survey, and said that all work passed through the hands of specialists, and any photographs which were not good were rejected. Most of the photographs were whole plate size, and were printed in platinotype. All who joined in the survey gave their services without any reward, many professional photographers joining in the work with great public spirit. Everyone even paid for their own mounts, and handed over everything free of charge for the public use of the city of Birmingham. The professional and amateur photographers of Warwickshire had given their time and their money in support of the scheme, and no praise could be too great for their self-denying efforts. He said that the time would come when many relics of antiquity, which to them were familiar, and possibly commonplace, would have passed entirely out of human ken. If they left exact records of them they would have done their duty, and would have undoubtedly helped the generations to come. It would not be contested that photography by permanent process was the only proper method of conveying to the future the relics of the past, and now they had platinotype, bromide, and carbon processes they

might hope to transmit to posterity pictures at least as durable as the paper on which they were printed.

A discussion followed in which Mr. G. Embrey, the Chairman, the Secretary, and others took part, when suggestions were made that portrait and landscape photography, the present fashions in dress, buildings, &c., should come within the scope of the survey. It was stated that efforts in some such direction, especially in regard to portraits of county celebrities, were being made by the Birmingham Society, but in the scheme for the Gloucestershire survey such work would only be undertaken under the guidance of some skilful Field Club or Naturalist Society. The Archæological Society would confine their studies to objects of archæological interest and value.

The interest and enjoyment of the address was enhanced by a number of examples of platinotypes executed in connection with the Warwickshire photographic survey, submitted by Mr. Pearson, and by transparencies of the same on a screen by aid of the optic lantern.

Votes of thanks concluded the meeting, and in moving the thanks of those present to Mr. Pearson the Secretary expressed a hope that the labours of the Society in connection with the survey of Gloucestershire would result in their being able to hand over to the city of Gloucester a similar collection of prints as had been handed to the Mayor of Brmingham, the outcome of the Warwickshire survey. (Applause.)

MEETING AT BRISTOL, APRIL 25.

By the kind permission of the Museum and Library Committee of the Town Council, a meeting was held in the Lecture Room of the Museum at 8 p.m. The chair was taken by Mr. F. F. Fox, and there were present, together with ladies and others interested both in the Antiquarian and Photographic aspects of the work, the Revs. W. Bazeley and C. S. Taylor, and Mr. P. D. Prankerd. After a brief opening address, in which the Chairman pointed out the value of a Photographic Survey, not only in preserving for future times the exact appearance of objects of interest which would then have perished, but also in increasing the present interest in ancient monuments, Mr. H. S. PEARSON gave an interesting and detailed account of the photographic survey of Warwickshire. It was, he said, in 1889 that the subject of a photographic survey for Warwickshire was first brought before the Birmingham Photographic Association. In 1890 a survey council was appointed, and since that time no fewer than 2,100 permanent records (photographs) of archæological interest in the county had been taken. Two public exhibitions of these pictures had been held, and 1,600 of the prints had been presented to the Mayor of Birmingham, and had been placed in the Public Library, where they had found a home, and were easy to refer to. The remaining portion of the photographs would also find their way to the same building. He was glad to hear that a photographic survey of Gloucestershire was to be commenced, under the auspices

of that Society. In connection with the Warwickshire survey, they had also turned their attention to copies of portraiture.—The Rev. W. BAZELEY spoke of the importance of carrying on a systematic photographic survey of objects of archæological interest in the Bristol neighbourhood. During the evening Mr. Husbands' optical lamp was used to present upon a screen examples of platinotypes executed in connection with the Warwickshire survey.

MEETING AT STROUD, APRIL 26.

An interesting meeting was held at the Subscription Rooms. The chair was taken by Mr. F. A. Hyett, M.A., and amongst others present were: Mr. C. A. Witchell, the local secretary, Sir W. H. Marling, Bart., Canon Keble, Rev. Father Lescher, Rev. G. Fox, Dr. Cranstoun, F.R.G.S., Rev. Pippett, Major Fisher, Col. Smythe, Messrs. A. J. Morton Ball, C. H. Stanton, Philip J. Evans, Withy, Chas. Playne, W. J. Stanton, W. J. P. Marling, Stanley Marling, A. W. Waller, Withey, R. Mitchell, S. J. Coley, Cave Winscombe, Elliott, G. F. Payne, Margetson, W. H. C. Fisher, A. T. Dowell, Edward E. Evans, W. Bishop, A. E. Smith, Northam Witchell, C. H. Hooper, &c., &c., also a number of ladies.

Mr. F. A. HYETT, in opening the meeting, said his first duty was to give them the names of those who had written expressing their regret at being unable to be present: Sir John Dorington, who was kept away by his parliamentary duties, Mr. Leigh, Mr. A. T. Playne, Miss Ruegg, Miss Skinner, and Mrs. Robert Taylor. He thought that nearly all present would know the object of that meeting—at any rate, all of those who were members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society who had received a prospectus would do so. The object was that they might consider the best mode of carrying out a photographic survey in this county —a scheme which had already, he was glad to say, been approved of by the council of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. Such a scheme had already been carried out in other counties in England, and Mr. H. S. Pearson, who had been an energetic promoter of it in Warwickshire, had kindly come down to Stroud to explain to them the details of its working, and to put them in a position to set about it, if they thought it desirable to do so. All of those whose duties had led them to study archæology as a recreation would readily understand of what great value such a survey might be. There was hardly a village, he thought, which had not in it some object of interest, either for architectural reasons or historical associations. It might be that it had not got a church which showed traces of Norman or Early English work, but he thought most villages had churches in which there was some window or quaint tracery, some curious old capital, or an out-of-the-way piece of carving which should be remembered. It might not possess, as the village in which he lived, a fine old Elizabethan house, interesting not only for its architectural beauty, but for its history; but every village had some house, some old, quaint, picturesque gable, something distinctive of a bygone period, which deserved rescuing from oblivion. All objects of that kind would age

inevitably; they were liable to the effects of time, if they did not suffer a more speedy end; they must be worn by the weather; they might be displaced to make room for more modern erection; or what was more dangerous, they might be changed past recognition by the deadly hand of the restorer. It was to preserve a permanent record of objects of this sort that this survey was to be set on foot. He referred to work done by such men as Lysons, Atkyns, and Bigland, and added that what they wanted to do was to preserve a permanent record of objects which might in future days throw some light upon history. Thanks to the progress of science, through photography that was now possible. Some time ago a photograph would, in all probability, have faded away before any change had taken place in the object, but by improved methods of printing, a photograph might now be made as permanent as an engraving. He said a photographic survey would include all the most interesting objects in the county, and he thought they should be doing a work which those who came after them would thank them for.

Mr. PEARSON then gave an explanatory statement of the formation of the Warwickshire survey, its history and work. He said that the time would come when many relics of antiquity, which to them were familiar, and possibly commonplace, would have passed entirely out of human ken. If they left exact records of them, they would have done their duty, and would have undoubtedly helped the generations to come. It would not be contested that photography by permanent process was the only proper method of conveying to the future the relics of the past, and now they had platinotype, bromide, and carbon processes, they might hope to transmit to posterity pictures at least as durable as the paper on which they were printed. He explained details of the arrangements made for the survey, and said that all work passed through the hands of specialists, and any photographs which were not good were rejected. Most of the photographs were whole-plate size, and were printed in platinotype. All who joined in the survey gave their services without any reward, many professional photographers joining in the work with great public spirit. Everyone even paid for their own mounts, and handed over everything free of charge for the public use of the city of Birmingham. About 2,200 photographs had been collected up to the present, and when the first thousand were completed they were handed over to the city at a public meeting at which the Mayor presided. The professional and amateur photographers of Warwickshire had given their time and their money in support of the scheme, and no praise could be too great for their self-denying efforts.

The Rev. WM. BAZELEY, M.A., one of the secretaries of the Society, said that at a meeting of the council, held in Gloucester, it was resolved that a photographic survey of the county be commenced under the auspices of the Society, that an executive committee be appointed to draw up a scheme for carrying out the survey, and that the committee should consist of three representatives from each photographic society in the county, and representatives from the Archæological Society equal in number to the whole of the other representatives. When the survey was first suggested,

it was only contemplated that it should be archæological, and only such a survey could be inaugurated by that society. If it appeared to be desired that geology, natural history, botany, and so forth should be dealt with, representatives from the societies in the county formed for the purpose of those studies would be asked to elect representatives to the general committee, and rules would be drawn up in accordance with the enlarged scheme.

Mr. CHARLES WITCHELL asked whether the proposed committee would be in the hands of the Archæological Society, acting, as it were, under a body working in another place. He also inquired as to the size of the photographs—whether any size was sufficient?

Mr. PEARSON: Any size from quarter plate to whole plate; but almost all contributors sent whole plates.

Mr. C. H. STANTON said he did not quite understand how the cost of taking the photographs would be borne.

Mr. PEARSON: The cost is borne entirely by those who produce the photograph. They do all for the love of the work.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY said they must not expect the Society to bear any large cost.

Major FISHER inquired how a photographic survey would affect professional photographs.

Mr. PEARSON said of course they recognized they had no right to trench upon professionalism, and they were guarded. Professionals had also the right to sell any copies they liked from their negatives. So far from injuring professionals, it would rather assist them by enabling them to obtain photographs of places that might otherwise be closed to them.

Mr. BAZELEY remarked that if a survey was started numbers would be glad and ready immediately to hand in photos from their already large collections.

The CHAIRMAN said with regard to the local committee, that matter was not yet decided. The work of the general committee would be threefold. Amongst other things they would have to draw up their rules, and to advise as to the objects most worthy to be photographed.

Mr. PEARSON then, by aid of a lime-light lantern, gave examples of photos executed in connection with the Warwickshire survey, and at the close a number of prints were handed to those present to examine.

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure they would agree with him that it would be most ungracious and ungrateful on their part to disperse without expressing their thanks very heartily to Mr. Pearson for the extremely interesting address he had given them. (Hear, hear.) It might be as he said that he was not a skilful photographer; as to that he was a little sceptical, but he had shown that he was an extremely skilful word painter, and however unable he might be to produce a satisfactory impression on a photographic plate, he had produced a very favourable one on the minds of those he had addressed. He did not think it would be possible to do

more than he had done in arousing their enthusiasm in the project. (Applause.) The best way they could show their thanks to him would be by as speedily as possible acting on the advice he had given.

After Mr. Pearson had responded, the Rev. G. Fox proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hyett for presiding, which that gentleman suitably acknowledged.

Notices of Publications.

CHAPTERS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF WELLS, A.D. 1136-1333. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-Dean and Canon Residentiary. London: Elliot Stock. Taunton: Barnicott & Pearce. 1894. Pp. xiii. and 450.

MANY of our members will have read and enjoyed that most interesting and characteristic series of three lectures on the "Cathedral Church of Wells," which was published by Mr. E. A. Freeman in 1870. The Cathedral manuscripts were not then available for his use. As he remarked: "I once glanced at them in company with Professor Stubbs, and that is all. When these documents are printed, as all documents of the kind ought to be printed, I hope I may be able to make good use of them; but while they are shut up in manuscript they are useless to me." Since that time much has been done to make the treasures of the Cathedral Library available for general use. In 1881 Mr. H. E. Reynolds published his *History of the Cathedral Church of Wells*. In 1880 the whole collection of eleven hundred documents was cleaned, examined, and arranged, and a descriptive catalogue of each charter was placed in the Library. Between 1882 and 1885, all the registers, rolls, and indenture books belonging to the Dean and Chapter were calendared and printed by the Historical MSS. Commission. In this way the original authorities for the history of the Cathedral were laid open, and the very interesting work of Canon Church is one of the first fruits of the labour involved.

Mr. Freeman's lectures covered the whole history of the Cathedral from the earliest times to the results of the last restoration; but the much larger work of Canon Church embraces only the period between 1136 and 1333. He gives a detailed history of the episcopates of Bishops Robert, Reginald, Savaric, Jocelin, and Roger, which extended from 1136 to 1247; then there follows a history of the Chapter from 1242 to 1333, and an account of the arrangement of the Church in the thirteenth century.

The book closes with an appendix composed for the most part of original documents, and it is furnished with an excellent index.

Practically, so far as the history of the See of Somerset is concerned, the book contains the history of the gradual emergence of the Church of Wells from the degradation which the removal of the Bishopstool to Bath had brought upon it, the steps by which the relations between the monks of Bath and the Canons of Wells were more or less amicably arranged, the way in which the great Abbey of Glastonbury became for a while a Cathedral Church, and how it purchased its freedom, till the accession of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, the first prelate who was known by the title so familiar to us of Bath and Wells. By that time the arrangements of the Chapter of Wells and of the diocese were practically what they are now, except for the changes which followed upon the suppression of the Monastery at Bath under Henry VIII.

Of the two great efforts to reform the Anglo-Saxon Monasteries which were made before the Norman Conquest: the first, the Benedictine Reformation towards the end of the tenth century, which was a very thorough one as far as it went, and the second, only partial and incomplete, under the influence of Harold, which consisted in the introduction of Canons living under a monastic rule,—Glastonbury presents an instance of the first and Wells of the second kind.

When Bishop Gisa came to Wells in 1061, he found a poor Church and four or five Canons living each in his own house as secular priests, like the Residentiary Canons of a Cathedral now. He introduced the semi-monastic rule of Lorraine (from whence he came), built a common dormitory and refectory, and compelled the Canons to live together the life of a community under strict rules. Bishop Leofric had done the same at Exeter a few years before, but the system was never popular in England and it did not last long in either Cathedral. When Bishop Gisa died, the same thing happened at Wells which happened at Bristol under Henry VIII.: the Canons ceased to live according to a common rule of life, and became mere secular priests, living *cum populo communiter* in their own houses as they pleased.

In 1088 the See of Somerset was moved from Wells to Bath, as that of Ramsbury had been moved to Old Sarum, that of Dorchester to Lincoln, and that of Crediton to Exeter a few years before. At Bath the Abbey became the Cathedral; and as William Rufus in the following year granted the city of Bath to the Bishop, it became an ecclesiastical borough, as it had been from the time of Osric to that of Offa; till in 1193 Richard I. took it again into his own hands, and confirmed the Abbey of Glastonbury to Bishop Savaric, much as Offa had seized Bath in 781 and had confirmed other estates of the Monastery of Worcester to Bishop Heathored. At Wells the glory of the Church departed with the Bishopstool, and it became a mere collegiate church in the diocese of Bath. Moreover, Bishop John suppressed the monastic order of Bishop Gisa at Wells; he took the lands of the Canons into his own hands and granted them to his brother Hildebert, charged with an annual payment of sixty shillings annually to each Canon. Hildebert gave the land by will to his son, and he to his

brother, and so for nearly half a century, all through the time of Bishop John and his successor Godfrey, the Church of Wells remained degraded and despoiled and its Canons mere pensioners, till a deliverer arose in the person of Bishop Robert, who was consecrated in 1136, and held the See till his death, on August 31, 1166.

With him Canon Church begins his detailed history, and the story of his busy life will well repay careful perusal. He was the founder of the Chapter of Wells. There had been Archdeacons of Wells and Bath before his time, but the whole system of Dean and Canons was organised by him. He recovered the Canons' lands and portioned them out into prebends or endowments for the individual clergy; and in this matter Canon Jones' account of the development of the Sarum Chapter in his *Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis* may very helpfully be compared with the record of Bishop Robert's work at Wells. Probably also he organised the system of rural deaneries, for certainly there was a Rural Dean over the district in which Bedminster lay before 1160;[1] and Canon Church records a meeting of the Chapter of the rural deanery of Cary held during the episcopate of Bishop Reginald. He began the building of a new Cathedral, and founded the borough of Wells.

Reginald, the next Bishop, was a son of Jocelin de Bohun, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. As Bishop he followed in the steps of his predecessor, doing his duty by his diocese and his two Churches at Bath and Wells, and cultivating friendly relations with the ancient Abbey of Glastonbury. He was a friend of the two greatest ecclesiastics of his time, St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Hugh of Lincoln; indeed, it would appear that he was consecrated at St. Jean de Maurienne in order that he might be able to invite St. Hugh to come to Witham with the authority of the Bishop in whose diocese Witham Friary lay. Finally, on the death of Archbishop Baldwin, he was elected to the See of Canterbury; but he died before his election was confirmed, and was succeeded as Bishop of Bath by his cousin Savaric in 1192.

The story of the thirteen years of the reign of Savaric, as told by Canon Church, gives a most interesting revelation of the worse side of the relations between the King, the Bishop, and the Pope, on the one hand, and between the Bishop and the great Monastery of Glastonbury on the other. When such a prelate as Savaric had to deal with such kings as Richard I. and John, not much good was likely to come to the Church, and by cunning and force and fraud Savaric obtained the Abbacy of Glastonbury; making Glastonbury a Cathedral Church like the Abbey of Bath, and giving to the Somerset diocese a triad of Cathedrals. No doubt the independence of the great monasteries from episcopal control was a great evil; but no doubt also, in this particular case, the annexation of Glastonbury was a great wrong, which, however, was not set right till after the death of Pope Innocent III., and then only at the price of the surrender by the monks of Glastonbury of four of their most valuable manors, one of which was Pucklechurch. Before Bishop Jocelin relaxed his hold on Glastonbury he secured the *patronatus* of the Abbey, by which the Bishop

[1] *Osmund Register* (Rolls Series), i., 244.

became guardian during a vacancy instead of the King, and obtained some authority with regard to the appointment of Abbot, and some right of visitation and jurisdiction. It may very well be that the excellent condition of Glastonbury at the time of the dissolution was an indirect consequence of the action of Savaric.

The remainder of the book is of more local interest, but to those who are interested in the inner life of the English Cathedrals it will be found full of interest, as showing the points of similarity and difference between the arrangements at Wells and those of such other Cathedrals of the old foundation as Sarum or Exeter or York. It is curious to notice how completely the interests of the Cathedral were confined to Somerset; the corpus of every prebend lay within the shire, while Sarum had two prebends in Gloucestershire and two far away in Lincolnshire.

The book contains an illustration of the head of a crozier attributed to Bishop Savaric, several plates of seals of early bishops and officials of the Church, and a ground plan of the Cathedral in the thirteenth century.

THE HISTORY OF CHIPPENHAM. By the Rev. J. J. DANIELL. Rector of Langley Burrell, Wilts. Chippenham: R. F. Houlston, London: Houlston & Sons. 1894. Pp. 248.

THIS little book has been compiled from notes on the history of Chippenham which had been collected by Canon Jackson, rector of Leigh Delamere, the eminent Wiltshire antiquarian. This fact is a guarantee for the accuracy of the information contained in it; and, as it is written in a pleasant, chatty style, it is a good instance of what a local history should be. Several of the smaller towns in our shire would afford matter for similar histories, but little is generally known about them—"*carent quia vate sacro.*"

Chippenham is an instance of a purely English town which was not made by the existence of a great church or castle, but which, as its name implies, grew up to meet the needs of the traffic of the district, like Chipping Campden or Chipping Sodbury. It is first heard of in 853, when, as Asser records, after Easter Ethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, gave his daughter Ethelswitha in marriage to Burhred, king of the Mercians, at Chippenham, which, as it lay near the frontier between the two kingdoms, would have been a convenient spot for the ceremony. She was the last queen of the Mercians, for in 874 the Danes drove her husband out of his kingdom, and he retired to Rome, where he died; his wife died on her way to Rome in 888, and was buried at Pavia.

Chippenham was evidently one of the ancient estates of the Crown of the West Saxons. It was left by King Alfred to his youngest daughter Elfrida, who married Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and was thus an ancestress of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror. She died in 929, and in 940 King Edmund confirmed a grant of Langley to his thegn Wulfric at Chippenham. The manor had belonged to King Edward, and in Domesday it appears as a possession of the Conqueror, containing 16,000

acres, of which 12,480 were arable, 2,920 pasture, 480 wood, and 120 meadow. The most striking point in the entry is the small area of wood, but probably the acreage described as pasture would in some other parts of England have been described as "*sylva pastilis*," for the woodland then was chiefly valuable for the pasturage which could be obtained from it. The modern relative area of Chippenham, Pewsham, and Kingswood near Wotton-under-Edge which was a possession of Roger de Berchelai and which lay until recently in Wilts, only amounts to about 10,627 acres, so that districts must have pertained to Chippenham at the date of Domesday that have since been severed from it. This has frequently happened with regard to the ancient estates of the Crown, and was especially likely to happen at Chippenham, because soon after the Conquest it was split up into four small manors. The church of Chippenham was well endowed with two hides of land, and had been given to Osbern Bishop of Exeter, by King Edward.

Mr. Gomme, in his book on *The Village Community*,[1] has taken Chippenham as an instance of the way in which he supposes tenancy in severalty has grown out of an original communal holding in the village. The statements in Domesday will not, indeed, bear all the meaning he puts upon them, but his account and Mr. Daniell's book throw a good deal of light on each other.

Though it does not appear that any charter was granted to Chippenham before the reign of Queen Mary, it had been a borough by prescription under a bailiff long before, and the site of the King's Hall with its mound of earth in the days when the town was a royal manor, is still shown near the market square. Like other Wiltshire boroughs, including Old Sarum and Ludgershall, Chippenham used to return two members to Parliament, and Mr. Daniell gives some amusing particulars relating to the elections. It appears that every freeman expected at least £10 for his vote, and that from £4,000 to £5,000 must be deposited by the candidate with responsible trustees. It could, however, be done for less. One successful candidate did not pay a single bill, not even for cleaning his shoes; it is not, however, recorded that he was re-elected. A bill for an election dinner is printed. The dinner cost £268; this must have included only eatables, for the liquors, including 130 dozen of port wine, cost no less than £458. After this, it is rather surprising to find that it cost less than £10 to replace broken crockery and glass and lost knives and forks. A ball and supper given a few days later also cost about £700. About the end of the last century more than half the burgage tenements, and with them the representation, were bought by a wealthy West India merchant. Chippenham was, however, the first English constituency which returned Sir Robert Peel to Parliament: he represented the borough from 1812 till 1817, when he was returned for the University of Oxford.

There is but little of general interest to relate in the history of Chippenham. As it was an open town, though it was unmercifully plundered, it was not the scene of any important action during the Civil Wars; and though the cloth trade flourished exceedingly from the reign of Queen

[1] Walter Scott, London, pp. 173-187.

Elizabeth to the end of the last century, it is now quite extinct. But the events of the quiet stream of life of a country town are well told by Mr. Daniell. The neighbourhood, however, seems to have suffered more than most districts from the loss of pasture in the forests and the enclosure of commons. Chippenham forest was disafforested in 1630, with the result that the poor lost their right of pasture, and also that the marten became extinct in North Wilts—though, from the point of view of the poultry-yard, the latter result would have been a decided gain. The right of pasturage on Langley Common to the north of Chippenham was lost about the same time, but the land was not enclosed till 1838. Mr. Daniell is rightly triumphant over the fact that a plan to enclose the common at Langley Fitzurse was defeated in 1860. It is rather remarkable that in this neighbourhood, where the use of the land has been so mercilessly taken from the poor, Chippenham Church was robbed of about twenty acres of land between 1748 and 1834.

There is a list of ancient words used in the district, some of which are characteristic of North Wilts; and the book closes with two short pieces in Wiltshire dialect. There is a sufficient index.

It should be noted by our members that Canon Jackson's papers are now deposited in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, and that they are open to inspection. Mr. Daniell also states that they will be readily lent upon introduction by a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The point is of local importance, because many families held property both in Gloucestershire and Wilts.

HERTFORDSHIRE DURING THE GREAT CIVIL WAR. By Alfred Kingston, F.R.H.S. London; Elliot Stock. Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons. Pp. 212.

It is more easy to understand what the Civil War actually meant to the English people by the history of what happened in a comparatively small district than it is from general accounts of its result to the whole of England. And from this point of view, Mr. Kingston's book is a most useful and instructive one, for Hertfordshire was in many ways a typical district. Lying as it did close to London and the associated counties, which were the chief seat of the power of the Parliament, and with a population that was mainly Puritan, its sympathies were with the Parliament. And lying as it did also across the line of the great North Road and the Watling Street, and not far from the direct line between London and Oxford, though it was not the scene of much actual fighting, it was constantly traversed by the chief actors in the great struggle.

We find the King passing through the shire, first as a fugitive, then in a progress almost triumphal; Cromwell, first as a simple captain arresting Thomas Coningsby, the high sheriff, who had published a royal proclamation in the market place of St. Alban's, and frequently afterwards, now recruiting before the battle of Naseby, and at last with the army

on its way from Thriplow Heath to London; the Earl of Manchester with the army, and at last marrying Lady Sussex of Gorhambury, whose amusing and ill-spelt letters give much interest to the earlier pages of the book.

Mr. Kingston divides his work into three portions: first the actual history of the struggle so far as it affected Hertfordshire, then an account of the leading men of the shire on either side, and, lastly, the effects of the war on the life of the people.

Hertfordshire was Puritan, and one of the first symptoms of the coming struggle occurred about harvest-time, 1640, when the communion rails which had been set up in the churches by the authority of Archbishop Laud were in many instances violently levelled. The work was openly done by soldiers, either at the time of Divine service or by obtaining the key for the purpose at other times. On complaint being made and an inquiry being held by the high sheriff, the jury affirmed on oath that the altar-rails had been levelled, but that they could not discover the names of any of those by whom the work had been done. This was ominous, and on December 18th following Archbishop Laud was accused by the House of Commons of high treason, and in due course he preceded his master to the scaffold.

On August 22nd, 1642, the King set up his standard at Nottingham; war had begun, and preparations were made throughout the kingdom. The Parliament worked through the lords-lieutenant and the deputy-lieutenants, the King by Commissions of Array directed to followers whom he could trust. The time had come when men must decide whom they would follow. A few of the leading county families of Hertfordshire and most of the clergy were for the King, but the shire as a whole was for the Parliament; and the Mayors of Hertford and St. Alban's, who published the royal proclamations, were summoned to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, and were committed to prison during the pleasure of the House. On September 9th, the Earl of Essex set out from London on his way to the Battle of Edgehill, and was most cordially welcomed as he passed through St. Alban's.

And the burden of the war settled down heavily upon Hertfordshire, on account of its position on the edge of the associated counties and on the road to London; much more heavily than on the neighbouring shires—at least, so the Hertfordshire people said. And it is evident that they had reason for their complaints. In 1645, they were required to pay £2,432 10s. per month towards the Scotch army; in 1644, the army cost them £3,800 a month, besides free quarters for the army of the Earl of Manchester during the winter, which amounted in two Hundreds alone to £10,760, the accounts for the other Hundreds having not yet been made up. Additional bitterness was added to the burden by the fact that they were—or seemed to think themselves to be—taxed at a higher rate than the other associated counties. The Parliament endeavoured to meet the difficulty, from their point of view, by doubling the commission paid to the collectors. These taxes were due from the well-affected; those of the King's party were, of course, much more severely dealt with.

But the tax of men was much more hard to bear than that of money.

Mr. Kingston estimates the population of Hertfordshire at this time as about 36,000, which would give, at the most, 10,000 adult males. Allowing 3,000 for Royalist recruits, those who left the country, and the clergy, he thinks that not more than 7,000 men of all ranks of fighting age remained from whom the Parliament could draw recruits, and that considerable deductions must be made on account of those who, by incapacity or office, would be exempt from service. During the summer of 1644, Hertfordshire sent into the field in the service of the Parliament from 4,000 to 5,000 men, so that almost the whole of the labouring population of the shire must have gone on active service at that time, when they fought and conquered under the Earl of Manchester at Marston Moor, as the Hertfordshire men took part under Cromwell in the crowning victory at Naseby in the following year.

This was the army after Cromwell's new model. Shortly before Marston Moor, the London and Herts and Essex Train-bands had behaved in a very different way. Sir William Waller, after his defeat at Cropredy Bridge, had effected a junction with Major-General Browne, whereupon the London men under his command, looking upon the others as having come to relieve them, for the most part went home, and Browne's Essex and Herts men did the same. Waller was indignant, and wrote that such men were only fit for a gallows here and a hell hereafter. But the strain of service was very severe, for the men were taken from their homes just at the time when they were most needed in the fields, and returned for the winter when they could do little work; and as the country was also stripped of horses to serve in the cavalry, it was almost impossible to get the field-work properly done. Pay, moreover, was uncertain and scarce; money, which came but with difficulty from the shire, returned even more slowly to the soldiers of the shire. And so the army passed through the shire from Royston to St. Alban's on its way from Thriplow Heath to London.

Mr. Kingston devotes a chapter to the effects of the war upon the life of the shire. Ecclesiastically, of course, it meant the deprivation of very many of the clergy and the disfigurement of the churches. Also it meant that in many parishes their places were very insufficiently supplied, for though several of the Hertfordshire ministers, including Dr. John Lightfoot the great Hebrew scholar, were evidently men of weight and learning, it is clear that they had considerable difficulty in enforcing soundness of teaching and good order. Mr. Baldwin of Hemel Hempstead, for instance, declared that he prayed neither for the King, nor Parliament, nor Synod, but absolutely prayed against all authority. Also, after teaching various erroneous doctrines, he sat down in the pulpit to see who would answer him; and as no one undertook to do so, he made a challenge to maintain his opinions against any on that day fortnight, whereupon a tumult was likely to be. And matters were not improved when eight ministers opposed him at the end of one of his sermons, for he was by no means silenced, and the people were much distracted. Eventually the usual remedy was applied to Mr. Baldwin, and he was committed to the Gatehouse Prison at Westminster during the pleasure of Parliament.

The book carries on the story of the shire till the restoration of Charles II. and the execution of Colonel Daniel Axtell, of Berkhampsted, who had

been in command of the guard at the trial of Charles I. It gives a very good idea of the condition of England during the great Civil War, and is well worth perusal by those who are interested in that portion of our national history.

THE ANTIQUARY. Vol. XXX. July—December, 1894. London: ELLIOT STOCK.

THE number of the magazine chosen for review may seem somewhat remote; but as it has not yet been noticed in our pages, and as it is quite equal in interest to any of its predecessors, notes on its contents will not be out of place.

The number for July contains an interesting paper on "Children's Song in Berwickshire," worthy of note by collectors of folk-lore songs. The long lists of parishes in Salop for which inventories of Church goods made in the reign of Edward VI. still exist serve to provoke a hope that those for Gloucestershire may yet be found. In the number for August a paper by the Rev. J. C. Cox, on "Some Popular Archæological Errors and Fictions," is well worth reading. Some of us may be interested to know that whitewash in the interior of churches is by no means simply a churchwarden's abomination of post-Reformation times. The September number contains the address delivered by Sir Henry Howorth, at the Shrewsbury meeting of the Archæological Institute. Sir Henry thinks for himself, and has ideas of his own in matters archæological as well as in geology, and therefore what he said is very well worth reading and thinking over. His paper will well repay careful study. A short and snggestive paper on "The Jutes" in the October number closes by tracing a connection between the names Huiccas and Wight, and so suggests a Jutish origin for the Huiccians; but certainly the Huiccians entered this district under West-Saxon kings, and their dialect has a West-Saxon tone about it to the present day.

The Man in the Iron Mask reappears in a paper by Mr. Hartshorne; and there are two interesting papers on English Glass-making. The notes on Archæology in the Museums at Leicester and Northampton, and at Farnham and Tollard Royal in Dorset, are useful as drawing attention to the existence of objects of historic interest which might otherwise be passed by.

There is an excellent record of the proceedings of local Archæological Societies, and the Notices of New Publications are well and helpfully written.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL. Second Series. Vol. II., No. II. June, 1895.

This number contains a very valuable paper by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope on "English Municipal Heraldry." It is illustrated with a large number of figures of municipal armory, and the writer has collected a very great amount of information on the subject into a very small compass. It

would seem that the earliest municipal arms to which a definite date can be attached are those of the city of Chester, which occur on a seal of 1283; but a large number of shields, including that of the borough of Bristol, can be identified in the first half of the fourteenth century. The present arms of the city of London are found in 1381; and Mr. St. John Hope takes occasion to point out that this shield was in use three months before Wat Tyler was slain, so that there is no reason at all to doubt that the weapon represented is the sword of martyrdom of St. Paul. The city of London also affords the first instance of the use of a crest by a municipality on a counterseal made in 1539, in which a dragon's wing, in allusion to the monster slain by St. George, is used as a crest as it is now. Crests and supporters were granted to a few boroughs, including Bristol, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it seems that most of the ancient boroughs have never used either crests or supporters. And, indeed, as a crest is really the ornament that surmounts a helm, and as a Corporation, not being an individual, cannot wear a helm, nor properly treat it even as a device, crests are strictly speaking out of place in municipal heraldry. The paper is a very valuable contribution on a most interesting subject.

The rest of the number is mainly occupied by papers on Metal-work; Viscount Dillon discoursing on Elizabethan Armour; Mr. Talfourd Ely on a watch made by John Ellicott; and Mr. H. Garraway Rice on the work of Huntington Shaw, who designed and executed the ironwork at Hampton Court.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES. Vol. VI., Parts III., IV. and V. July, 1894—March, 1895. London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co.

There is an account of the descent of the Advowson of Westbury-on-Severn from the time of Henry II. till 1412, when it was finally appropriated to the College of Vicars Choral of Hereford Cathedral.

It is a somewhat complicated story, as the manor was divided among co-heiresses who agreed to present in turn to the benefice; one of them, however, granted her right of presentation to the Bishop of Hereford; the representatives of another never exercised their right to present; while the representatives of the third usurped the turns of presentation of the rest, till in 1357 the Bishop of Hereford asserted his right, and collated his nominee. His successors obtained the whole of the advowson, and in 1384 Bishop Gilbert ratified the advowson to the Vicars Choral, but it was not appropriated to them till 1412, and they did not obtain the income of the rectory till after the death of the then rector, about 1430. The Rector concludes his account of the most interesting glass in Rendcomle Church. There is a short paper on Gloucestershire Parish Registers, from which it appears that of the 333 ancient parishes in the shire, 44 possess registers older than 1549, and 147 possess registers which commence before 1600; on the other hand, 53 parishes have no registers earlier than the present century. The extent of the destruction which was wrought during the

Civil War may be estimated from the fact that in no fewer than 80 parishes the earliest registers commence between 1651 and 1689. The fewer the register books the less is the chance of loss. And so it comes to pass that most of the earliest registers are found in small parishes, in which a single book sufficed until 1812. In a short paper on John Biddle, the Socinian schoolmaster of Gloucester, it is mentioned that he was baptized at Wootton-under-Edge in 1615. In a paper on Henbury parish use is made of a paper written several years ago by Mr. Kerslake on the boundaries of "Stoc," given in the award of Alderman Ethelred, referred to on pages 301 and 302 of this part of our Transactions; it would seem to be more probable, however, that the boundaries are really those of the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton, than that they ran on the lines suggested by Mr. Kerslake. The series of illustrated notes of the monumental brasses is continued; and the list of marriages at King's Stanley is carried on from 1751 to 1795.

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IN

1894

[BEING THE FOURTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–94]

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NOTE.

The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form and it will be printed as soon as arrangements can be made.

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Shropshire: *Calvert, Duignan, Kenyon.* *See* Chetton, Chirbury, High Ercall, Oswestry, Selattyn, Shelvock, Shrewsbury, Wenlock.
Silchester: *Evans, Fox.*
Somersetshire. *See* Axbridge, Burton Pynsent, Exmoor, Glastonbury, High Ham, Huish Episcopi, Langport, Langport Eastover, Long Sutton, Stoke-under-Hamdon, Wedmore, Wells.
South Molton: *Worth.*
Southampton: *Clutterbuck.*
Spofford: *Collins.*
Stainton-in-Furness: *Cowper.*
Stillington (Bishop): *Jex-Blake.*
Stockton: *M. (A. S.)*
Stoke-under-Hamdon: *Batten.*
Stone Age: *Bell, Dawkins, Duns, Findlay, Gray, Hayden, Knowles, Owen, Shrubsole.*
Stoneham (North): *Kitchen.*
Strata Marcella: *J. (M. C.)*
Stratford Langthorne: *Stevens.*
Sussex: *See* Chichester, Eastbourne, Lewes, Wadhurst.
Surrey: *Cooper, Crisp, Stevenson.* *See* Beddington, Compton, Croydon, Dorking, Lambeth.
Suffolk: *See* Wenhaston.
Sweathouse: *Latimer.*
Talley: *Owen.*
Tara: *Murphy.*
Targets: *Anderson.*
Tavey Cleave: *Gould.*
Teilo: *Willis-Bund.*
Teynham: *Payne.*
Theydon Garnon: *Waller.*
Tiles: *Brakspear, Frazer.*
Timolin: *Hartshorne.*
Toller (Great): *Lewis.*
Torrington (Great): *Doe.*
Tournaments: *Green.*
Treceiri (Carnarvonshire): *Christison.*
Trewern Hall: *M. (E.R.).*
Tumuli: *Fryer, Goddard, Letts, Read.*

Urns (funeral): *Chamberlain, Clazey, Coles, Cunnington, Gray, Lowe.*

Valle Crucis: *Hughes, Smith.*

Wadhurst: *Gardiner.*
Wales: *Allen, Allen (Mrs. T.), Davies, Dwnn, Eisteddfod, Fisher, Ll. (W. V.), Lloyd, M. (E.R.), Montgomeryshire, Owen, Rhys, Rowley-Morris, S. (G.) Taylor, Thomas, Tierney, Vaughan, W. (R.), Williams, Willis-Bund, Wyon.* *See* Bettws, Brecon, Bridgend, Cardiff, Churchstoke, Darowen, Dolcaradog, Dolforwyn, Eindon, Gower, Kerry, Leighton, Llanbeblig, Llandrinio, Llandysillio, Llaneilian, Llantwit Major, Llanwddyn, Meiford, Northop, Plas Mawr, Strata Marcella, Talley, Treceiri, Teilo, Valle Crucis.
Wallasey: *Pritt, Radcliffe.*
Wansdyke: *Pitt-Rivers.*
Wardon: *Compton.*
Warminster: *Ponting.*
Welford: *Markham.*
Wells: *Browne, Buckle, Church, Hope, Moore, Owen.*
Wedmore: *Sanford.*
Wenhaston: *Keyser.*
Wenlock: *Vaughan.*
Whalley (Lancashire): *Micklethwaite.*
Whitefield (Kent): *Brock.*
Wills: *Brigg, Crisp, M. (E.R.), Montgomeryshire.*
Wilton: *Yates.*

Wilts: *Dartnell, Goddard, Holgate, Willis, Wiltshire. See* Box, Broadchalke, Broomsgrove, Collingbourne Ducis, Falstone, Heytesbury, Ivy Church, Longleat, Martin, Oldbury Hill, Stockton, Warminster, Wilton.
Winchester: *Jacob, Kershaw, Winchester.*
Windsor: *Hope.*
Wirrall: *Cox, Irvine.*
Woodstock: *Marshall.*
Worcestershire: *See* Northfield.
Wragby: *Sankey.*

Yorkshire: *Baildon, Ellis, Glynne, Thoresby. See* Arthington, Bosville, Doncaster, Guisbrough, Hampsthwaite, Kirkstall, Leeds, Netherthong, Osgoldcross, Pampocalia, Sandal, Spofford, Wragby.

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ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

REPORT

OF THE

SUB-COMMITTEE

ON A

PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY

OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1895

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES, 1894.

Report of the Sub-Committee on the Photographic Survey of England and Wales.

The Sub-Committee has considered the subject referred to it by the Congress, as to the best method of promoting a general Photographic Record of the Country on the lines adopted by the Society for the Photographic Survey of the County of Warwick.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion that the establishment of such a general Photographic Record of all works of antiquity is of the highest importance, and that the Societies in Union should use their best efforts to establish, for their particular counties, associations on the basis of that so successfully initiated by the Warwickshire Society, and followed by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

It may be expected that Societies organized on these lines, besides being of the greatest value to antiquaries, will be readily supported by the many interested in photography, who will be glad to feel that their efforts are incorporated and preserved for ever in what will eventually become a national collection. A more intelligent interest will be created in what is often at present a desultory and useless amusement, and the Archæological Societies will doubtless be strengthened by the addition of many intelligent members.

The following Regulations are suggested for adoption :—

1. That all photographs be as large as possible, whole plate being preferred, but in no case less than $\frac{1}{4}$ plate.

2. That they be printed in permanent process.

3. That while artistic effect is a valuable addition to a picture, it should not be achieved at the sacrifice of the work illustrated, but the point of view should be chosen to show as clearly as possible the details of the subject.

This is especially important in the case of tombs, effigies, and various architectural details, where it will often be impossible to combine picturesque effect and valuable record. While, therefore, it will be necessary to keep up a certain standard of artistic skill, plates should be preferred which clearly show architectural or other facts that can only be adequately recorded by the deliberate sacrifice of picturesque effect.

4. That some arrangement should be made to supply a scale in all illustrations, since without this many are practically valueless.

Particulars of size can be added in the accompanying description, but it is far better that an actual scale should be given by the inclusion in the picture of a graduated staff or a 3 ft. rod or walking stick, which may generally be unobtrusively introduced. In a series of photographs of Roman masonry now in preparation for the Society of Antiquaries a graduated scale,* marked clearly with English and French measures, is in all cases included. The scale must, of course, be placed in the same plane as the object to be photographed.

The Congress most strongly recommends the adoption of the double scale, which will render the photographs of European value, and materially assist English scholars in the work of comparison.

5. That a description in all cases accompany the photograph, giving the size, general condition, and as many particulars as possible of the object illustrated.

6. That all particulars as to history, date, etc., be carefully edited by competent authorities, as otherwise much false and often ridiculous information may be spread and perpetuated.

7. That the copies of the photographs for the collection be mounted by the curator on stout cards, uniform with those of the Warwickshire Survey, and the descriptive particulars legibly written or printed on the back, and the title on the front.

The plan adopted in Warwickshire of selecting a Hundred for the work of each year, and committing one square of the 6-inch Ordnance Map to individual or associated workers, provides for a systematic and exhaustive record that will be much more valuable than desultory or haphazard contributions. The jealousies that might arise in the selection of examples of prominent interest will also be avoided.

Where a county is divided amongst several Photographic Societies, the number of localities to be illustrated can be increased accordingly.

The following Rules are copied from those of the Warwickshire Survey Section of the Birmingham Photographic Society:

" That the 6-inch Ordnance Map be adopted as the basis of the Survey.

" That the work be conducted, as far as may be convenient, on the lines of the Hundreds.

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* Printed copies of this scale (Price 6d., post free, or 5s. per dozen), can be obtained on application to the Assistant-Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.

"That in order to systematise the work it is desirable that members shall confine their work, as far as possible, to the Hundred selected for the ensuing year.

"That each square of the Ordnance Map (containing, roughly, six square miles) shall be considered a distinct field for work, and that any member may have allotted to him such square as he may select, unless such square has been previously allotted."

Another and perhaps better way, which has been adopted by the Guildford Society, is to divide the 6-inch Ordnance Map into distinct blocks, with natural boundaries, and to furnish the members to whom a block is allotted with a corresponding plan cut from the 1-inch Ordnance Map, and mounted on card.

To facilitate access to objects to be illustrated, cards of introduction should be provided, and issued to those who undertake work. It is suggested that the cards be made to run for one year only, and be not re-issued except to those who are doing satisfactory work.

It is desirable that a Committee should prepare a schedule of the principal objects of which it is desired to obtain records, but such a list should not be regarded as in any way exhaustive, and may be supplemented by individual observation.

The photographing of portraits, already begun by the Warwickshire Society, is also of great value where it can be effected.

Besides objects of archæological interest, photographs should be welcomed that give types of natives and groups of school children. These will be of the highest value to ethnological students. The ethnological photographs should, if possible, be taken in accordance with the directions laid down by Mr. Francis Galton. These may be obtained from the British Association, at Burlington House.

Photographs of objects of natural history, and of landscapes or geological features, should be encouraged and accepted, as they may be ultimately gathered into a separate collection.

Many of the County Societies are for the study of natural history as well as of archæology, and where this is not the case proper custodians can eventually be found for the various collections.

It is desirable, to avoid risk of loss by fire, that at least three sets of Prints should be preserved by way of record: one by the County Society; a second by the British Museum; and a third, of archæological plates, by the Society of Antiquaries. The third prints from those plates which illustrate science might be deposited with the societies representing the various subjects, such as the Anthropological Institute or the Geological and Linnæan Societies.

It is thought that, pending the general adoption of County Museums, the various County Archæological Societies would be the best custodians of the collections; but it will probably be more acceptable to those who photograph that it should be clearly understood that the custody is temporary and may be withdrawn at any time.

It will constantly be the case that photographs of a neighbourhood will be taken by strangers, but it is thought that the general adoption throughout England of such a scheme as that proposed will be sufficiently widely known to induce such photographers to communicate their work to the various centres, although they may not be personally interested in such centres.

The Sub-Committee suggests that the various Archæological Societies should take the initiative in founding local associations for the preparation of the Photographic Record.

These associations should have their own executive, and the County Society should suggest the names of certain competent archæologists to serve on the councils. Where Photographic Societies already exist, efforts should be directed to bringing these into union and supplying the necessary information.

Sir J. B. Stone, who had so much to do with initiating the Birmingham scheme, strongly urges that a national society should be formed for the purpose of promoting the Photographic Record, and the Committee are of opinion that a strong central body would be of the greatest service, and they recommend the Congress to do their best to assist such a scheme, should it be put forward under good auspices.

The Sub-Committee wishes to point out that it is not necessary and, perhaps, not altogether desirable, that the County Archæological Societies should add to their work, already arduous enough, this of the Photographic Record.

It will be sufficient that they should promote local Photographic Societies, form a medium of union, and supply skilled advice on the subject of archæology.

RALPH NEVILL,
GEORGE E. FOX,
W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN S LANE.

REPORT

ON THE

TRANSCRIPTION

AND

PUBLICATION

OF

PARISH REGISTERS, &c.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1892

Report on the Transcription and Publication of Parish Registers, etc.

The Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries desires to call the attention of the public and especially of those interested in antiquarian research, to the extreme importance of duly preserving and rendering accessible the Registers and other Parish Records of the United Kingdom.

These contain matter of the greatest value not only to the genealogist, but also to the student of local history, and through these to the general historian; it is to be regretted that sufficient care has not been taken in the past of these documents, which have too often been thoughtlessly destroyed.

Many Registers have already been copied and published, and every year adds to the list, and the Congress is in hope that these suggestions may lead to a still greater number being undertaken.

As the older writings are in a different character from that used at the present time, they are not easily deciphered, and require careful examination, even from experts. It is extremely desirable therefore that they should be transcribed, not only to guard against possible loss or injury, but in order to render them more easily and generally accessible to the student.

The Committee appointed by the Congress of 1889 for the purpose of considering the best means of assisting the transcription and publication of Parish Registers and Records was constituted as follows:

Edwin Freshfield, LL.D., V.P.S.A., *Chairman.*

The Rev. Canon Benham, B.D., F.S.A.
R. S. Faber, M.A. (*Hon. Sec. Huguenot Society.*)
W. J. Hardy, F.S.A.
J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A. (*Maltravers Herald.*)
G. W. Marshall, LL.D., F.S.A. (*Rouge Croix.*)
G. H. Overend, F.S.A. (*Public Record Office.*)
Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. (*St. Paul's Cathedral*).
Mill Stephenson, B.A., F.S.A. (*Hon. Sec. Surrey Archæo. Soc.*)

Ralph Nevill, F.S.A. (*Hon. Sec.*)

The Congress trust that the following paper of Suggestions drawn up by the Committee may prove useful to those anxious to assist in the preservation, transcription and, where possible, publication of the documents referred to.

Suggestions as to Transcription.

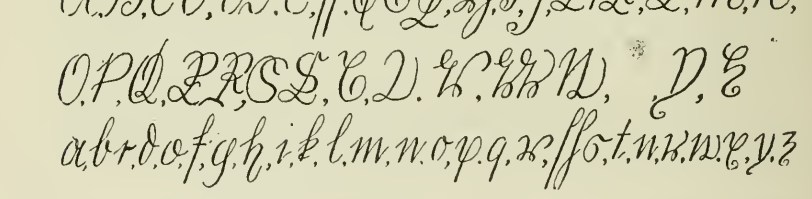
LIMITS OF DATE.

It is evident that there is most reason for transcribing the oldest Registers, but those of later date are also of great value, and it is suggested that 1812, the date of the Act of 52 Geo. III, cap. 146, is a suitable point to which copies may be taken.

CHARACTER OF WRITING.

In transcribing, great care must be used to avoid mistakes from the confusion of certain letters with modern letters of similar form.

An alphabet is adjoined giving some of the ordinary characters, but Registers vary, and the manner in which the capital letters are formed is of infinite variety. It may be noted that capital F resembles two small ff's, but there is no reason whatever for printing it in the latter way; G is a difficult letter running into C and T; K and R are formed exactly alike, except that the direction of the top loop is always reversed; W is formed as two U's or two V's.



Great help in deciphering names may be gained from a study of existing local names. It must, however, be borne in mind that the same name may be continually spelt in different ways, and may undergo considerable changes in the course of time or from the hands of different scribes.

In copying dates it must be remembered that down to 1752, the year began on the 25th of March and not on the 1st of January.

METHOD OF TRANSCRIPTION.

There can be no doubt that a *verbatim et literatim* transcription is of far more value than any other form; it is otherwise impossible to be sure that some point of interest and importance has not been overlooked; the extra trouble of making a complete transcript is small, and the result much more satisfactory. In any case the names should be given *literatim* and all remarks carefully copied, with some indication, where possible, as to the date of the remark. Other records,

such as Churchwardens' Accounts, should certainly not be transcribed and printed otherwise than in full. It is far better in both cases to do a portion thoroughly than the whole imperfectly.

REVISION AND COLLATION OF COPIES.

The decipherment of old Registers is, as already pointed out, a work of considerable difficulty, and it is therefore strongly recommended that in cases where the transcribers have no great previous experience, they should obtain the help of some competent reader to collate the transcript with the original.

It should be remembered that in many cases transcripts are preserved in the Bishops' Registries and a reference to these will often fill up a void, clear up a difficulty or supply an omission. It occasionally happens that the original Registers are preserved as well as later Transcripts; in such cases, the two should be collated and all variations noted.

PUBLICATION.

With regard to the publication of Registers, the Committee have carefully considered the question of printing in abbreviated or index form and have come to the conclusion to strongly recommend that the publication should be in full, not only for the reasons given for transcription, but because the extra trouble and expense is so small and the value so very much greater.

There seems, however, no objection, in either case, to the use of contractions of formal words of constant recurrence. A list of some of these is adjoined:

Bap.: baptized.	Bac.: bachelor.
Mar.: married.	Spin.: spinster.
Bur.: buried.	Wid.: widow or widower.
	Dau.: daughter.

With regard to entries of marriage after Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1752, it is suggested that the form of entry may be simplified by the omission of formal phrases, but care should be taken not to omit any record of fact, however apparently unimportant, such for instance as the names of witnesses, ministers, occupation, etc.

It is essential in all cases that an Index should be given and that the Christian names should be given with the surnames.

It is believed that many Registers remain unprinted owing to an exaggerated idea of the cost of printing and binding. Reasonable estimates for these might, probably, often be obtained from local presses which would be interested in the publication.

No absolute rule as to size and type can be laid down, but on this and other questions the Standing Committee will always be glad to give advice. It is probable that demy octavo or foolscap quarto will be found the most convenient sizes.

A Standing Committee has been appointed by the Congress for the purpose of giving advice and distributing to the various Societies in Union such information and lists as may be of common value to all.

Societies in Union are strongly urged to form their own Committees to take steps to secure the printing of the many Transcripts that already exist unpublished, and to promote further Transcription.

By permission of G. W. Marshall, Esq., LL.D. (Rouge Croix, College of Arms), the accompanying list of Printed Registers has been prepared from the Calendar privately printed by him in 1891. A revised and augmented edition of this Calendar is in progress, and will contain full references to all known printed Registers, Transcripts and Collections, whether complete or consisting of extracts.

The Committee also issue a list of MS. Transcripts and propose to prepare and issue further lists from time to time. They therefore ask that information may be sent to them, or to the Secretaries of County Societies, of any Transcripts in private hands. The inclusive dates of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials should be given, and any complete Transcript will be calendared, although extending over a short period only, but Extracts will not be admissible.

The Committee suggest that lists of existing Transcripts, with full particulars of the location of the Transcript, should be kept by the County Societies, and where possible, in order to avoid risk of loss, it is very desirable that such Transcripts should be deposited, either temporarily or permanently, in the Libraries of the Societies.

It is believed that the publication of a series of Registers, supplemental and extra to their Transactions, would add to the attractiveness and usefulness of the Societies without being a serious burden to their funds. By combination and organization a considerable body of outside subscribers may probably be secured for such a series, and the cost of distribution of circulars, etc., may be materially reduced by such a plan as the issue, by the Central Committee, of an annual circular containing lists of Registers in course of publication. Such a circular might be distributed by the local Societies and published in their Transactions and elsewhere.

The Standing Committee will be very glad to receive suggestions from Local Committees and others.

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,, No. 2.—Parish Registers printed in other works.
,, No. 3.—Original Registers and Bishops' Transcripts in the British Museum Library.
,, No. 4.—Registers of other Churches in all classes.
,, No. 5.—Parish Registers transcribed in MS.

No. 1.—A List of Parish Registers that have been printed as separate works.

Extracted by permission from "Parish Registers," privately printed by Geo. W. Marshall, Esq., LL.D., 1891, and continued to date.

NOTE.—Those printed at Middle Hill for Sir Thomas Phillips are very rare, and many others, such as those by Mr. Crisp, were privately printed and are scarce.

BEDS. HAYNES, 1596–1812, Wm. Briggs, M.A., pr.

BERKS. READING, St. Mary, 1538–1812, Rev. G. P. Crawfurd, 2 vols.
WELFORD, Bap. 1562, Mar. 1603, Bur. 1559–1812, Mrs. Batson Olney, 1892, 4to

BUCKS. GREAT HAMPDEN, 1557–1812, E. A. Ebblewhite 1888, fol.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. ABINGTON PIGOTTS, 1653–1812, Rev. W. G. F. Pigott Norwich, 1890, 4to

CHESHIRE. EASTHAM, 1598–1700, F. Sanders Lond. 1891, 8vo
LEYLAND, 1653–1710, B. T. 1622–1641, W. S. White, 1892,
PRESTBURY, 1560–1636, J. Croston 1881, 8vo

CORNWALL. MADRON, Bap. 1592–1726, Mar. 1577–1678, Bur. 1577–1681 G. B. Millett, Penzance, 1877, 4to
ST. COLUMB Major, 1539–1780, A. J. Jewers 1881, 8vo

DENBIGHSHIRE. KEGIDOG alias ST. GEORGE, 1694–1749, F. A. Crisp 1890, fol.

DERBYSHIRE. WEST HALLAM, Rev. C. W. Kerry 1887, 8vo

DORSET. ASHMORE, 1651–1820, E. W. Walsin 1891, 4to
NORTH WOOTON, Bap. 1539–1785, Mar. 1542–1760, Bur. 1698–1785, Rev. C. H. Mayo, pr. 1887, 8vo

DURHAM. Denton, 1586–1662, J. R. Walbran Ripon, 1842, 8vo
Durham, St. Oswald, 1538–1751, A. W. Headlam Durham, 1891, 8vo
Gainford, Index, Bap. 1560–1784, Mar. 1569–1761, Bur. 1569–1784, J. R. Walbran, 3 parts Lond. 1889, 8vo

ESSEX. Bobbingworth, Bap. 1559–1782, Mar. 1559–1753, Bur. 1558–1785, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1884, fol.
Colchester, St. Leonard, 1670–71, F. A. Crisp, 1885, fol.
Greensted, 1558–1812, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1892, fol.
Lambourne, 1582–1709, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1890, fol.
Moreton, 1558–1759, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1891, fol.
Ongar, 1558–1750, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1886, fol.
South Weald, 1539–1573, R. Hovenden, F.S.A. 1889, 8vo
Stapleford Tawney, 1558–1752, F. A. Crisp 1892, fol.
Stifford, 1568–1783, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1885, fol.
Stock Harvard, 1563–1700, E. P. Gibson 1881, 8vo

GLAMORGAN. Llantrithyd, 1571–1810, H. S. Hughes 1888, 8vo

GLO'STER. Bretforton, Mar. 1538–1752, Sir T. Phillips Lond. 8vo
Kempsford, 1653–1700, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1887, fol.
Mickleton, 1594–1736, Sir T. Phillips, pr. 8vo

HANTS. Colmer, 1563–1812, Rev. T. Hervey 1886, 8vo
Priors' Dean, 1538–1812, *see* Colmer.

IRELAND. Cork, Christ Church, 1643–1668, R. Caulfield 1887, 8vo

KENT. Canterbury Cathedral, 1564–1878, R. Hovenden, Harleian Soc. vol. 2. 1878, 4to
Canterbury, St. Peter, 1560–1800, J. M. Cowper, Canterbury, 1888 8vo
,, St. Alphege, 1558–1800, J. M. Cowper, 1889
,, St. Dunstan, 1559–1800, J. M. Cowper, 1890
,, St. George, 1538–1800, J. M. Cowper, 1891
,, St. Mary Magdalene, 1559–1800. J. M. Cowper, 1890
,, St. Paul, 1562–1800, J. M. Cowper 1892
Chislet, 1538–1751, R. Hovenden, F.S.A. Lond. 1887, 8vo
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Kingstone, 1558–1812, Rev. C. H. Wilkie 1892, 8vo
Lee, 1559–1754, Duncan and Barron Lee, 1888, 8vo
Lewisham, 1558–1750, L. L. Duncan Lond, 1891, 8vo
Maidstone, Mar. 1542–1620, Rev. J. Cave-Browne Lond. 1890, 8vo
Rochester Cathedral, 1657–1837, T. Shindler M.A. to be pub. 8vo

LANCASHIRE. Colton-in-Furness, 1622–1812, Rev. A. Williams and J. P. Burns Lond. 1891
Leigh, 1559–1624, J. H. Stanning Leigh, 1882, 8vo
Rochdale, 1582–1641, H. Fishwick, 2 vols. 1888–9, 8vo
Saddleworth, 1613–1751, J. Radcliffe 1887, 8vo
Ulverston, 1545–1812, Bardsley and Ayre 1886, 4to.

LEICESTERSHIRE. Newton Linford. 1677–1679, F. A. Crisp 1884, fol.

LINCOLNSHIRE. Great Grimsby, 1538–1812, G. S. Stephenson, M.D, Great Grimsby, 1889, 8vo
Horncastle, 1559–1639, Rev. J. C. Hudson 1892, 4to
Irby-upon-Humber, 1558–1785, F. A. Crisp 1890, fol.
Stubton, 1577–1628, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1883, fol.

LONDON. All Hallows, London Wall, 1559–1675, Jupp and Hovenden Lond. 1878, 4to
Gray's Inn Chapel, Marriages, Jos. Foster, Coll : Geneal.
St. Antholin, 1538–1754, Harl. Soc. vol. viii.
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, 1558–1753, A. W. C. Hallen. 2 vols. 1886, 8vo
St. Christopher-le-Stocks, 1558–1781 E. Freshfield, 1882, 4to
St. Dionis Backchurch, 1538–1754, Harl. Soc. vol. iii.
St. Edmund the King (Lombard Street), Wm. Briggs, pr.
St. George, Hanover Square, Mar. 1725–1809, Harl. Soc. vols. xi. xii. and xv.
St. James, Clerkenwell, Bap. and Mar. 1551–1754. Harl. Soc. vols. ix. x. xiii.
St. John Baptist, on Walbrook, Bap. 1682–1754, Bur. 1686–1754, Harl. vol. viii. 1890
St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, 1539–1675, Harl. Soc. vol. xvi.
St. Mary Aldermary, 1558–1754, Harl. Soc. vol. v.
St. Mary Woolchurch Haw. *See* St. Mary Woolnoth.
St. Mary Woolnoth, 1538–1760, Brooke and Hallen 1886, 8vo
St. Michael, Cornhill, 1546–1754, Harl. Soc. vol. vii.
St. Nicholas Acon, 1539–1812, W. Briggs Leeds, 1890
St. Peter, Cornhill, Bap. and Bur. 1538-1774, Mar. 1538–1754, Harl. Soc. i. and iv.
St.-Thomas-the-Apostle, Bap. and Bur. 1558–1754, Mar. 1558–1672, Harl. Soc. vol. vi.
Somerset House Chapel, 1714–1776, J. Coleman 1862, 8vo
Westminster Abbey, 1606–1875, Harl. Soc. vol. x.

MIDDLESEX. Staines, 1664–1694, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1887, fol.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE. Tref Eglwys, 1695–6, Sir T. Phillips, pr. 12mo

NORFOLK. Bircham Newton, 1562–1743, R. Howlett 1888, 8vo
Burgh, 1563–1810, Rev. E. T Yates 8vo
Marsham, 1538–1836, A. T. Michell, Norwich, 1889, 8vo
North Elmham, 1536-1631, Rev. A. C. Legge 1888, 8vo

NOTTS. Carburton, 1528–1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D. 1888, fol.
Edwinstowe, 1634–1758, G. W. Marshall 1891, 8vo
Perlethorpe, 1528–1812, G. W. Marshall 1887, fol.

OXFORDSHIRE. Ducklington, Index, 1550-1880, Rev. W. D. Macray Oxford, 1881, 8vo

SALOP. Broseley, 1570–1750, A. F. C. C. Langley, 2 vols. Lond. 1889-90, 8vo

SCOTLAND. Muthill, 1697–1847, A. W. C. Hallen 1887, 8vo

SOMERSET. Wedmore, 1561—Bap. 1812, Mar. 1839, Bur. 1860.
Wellow, Index, 1570–1887, C. W. Empson 1889, 8vo
Wilton, 1558–1837, J. H. Spencer Taunton, 1890, 8vo

STAFFORDSHIRE. Walsall, 1570–1649, F. W. Willmore, 1890, 8vo

SUFFOLK. Brundish, Bap. 1562–1765, Mar. 1563–1749, Bur. 1563–1785, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1885, fol.
Carlton, 1538–1885, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1886, fol.
Chillesford, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1886, fol.
Culpho, 1721–1886, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1886, fol.
Ellough, 1540–1812, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1886, 8vo
Frostenden, 1538–1791, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1887, fol.
Kelsale, 1538–1812, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1887, fol.
Pakenham, 1564–1766, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1888, fol.
Tannington, 1539–1714, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1884, fol.
Thorington, 1561–1881, T. S. Hill Lond. 1884, 8vo

SURREY. Wandsworth, 1603–1787, J. T. Squire 1889, 8vo
Windlesham, Bap. 1677–1783, Mar. 1695–1753, Bur. 1695–1783, W. W. Glanville-Richards 1881, 8vo

SUSSEX. Edburton, 1558–1673, Rev. C. H. Wilkie 1884, 8vo
„ „ Index, F. A. Crisp, pr. 1887, 8vo

WARWICKSHIRE. Birmingham, St. Martin, 1554–1653 1889, 8vo
Leek Wotton, 1685–1742, Sir T. Phillipps 8vo
„ „ Index to ditto, F. A. Crisp 1887, 8vo

WILTS. Broad Chalke, 1538–1780, Rev. C. G. Moore 1880, 8vo
Durnford, 1574–1650, Sir T. Phillips 1823, 8vo
Stourton, 1570–1800, J. H. Ellis, Harl. Soc. vol. xii.

WORCESTERSHIRE. Broadway, Bap. and Bur. 1680–1771, Sir T. Phillips.

YORKS. Calverley, 1574-1720, S. Margerison, 3 vols.,1880-9,8vo
Ecclesfield, Bap. 1599–1619, Mar. 1558–1621, Bur. 1558–1603, A. S. Gatty, F.S.A. Lond. 1878, 4to
Hawnby, 1653–1722, Miss Thoyts Olney, 1890, 4to
Hull, God's Hospital Chapel, from 1695, Sir T. Phillips
Ingleby Greenhow, 1539–1800, J. Blackburne 1889, 8vo
Kirkburton, 1541–1654, F. A. Collins, Exeter, 1887, 8vo
Morley, *see* Topcliffe.
Roos, R. B. Machell, Hull, 1888, 8vo
Rotherham, 1542–1563, J. Guest 4to
Topcliffe and Morley, Bap. 1654–1830, Bur. 1654–1888, W. Smith Lond. 1888, 8vo

No. 2.—Parish Registers printed in books and periodicals.

CHESHIRE. Macclesfield, 1512–1620, Par. Mag. from 1886 4to

DERBYSHIRE. Croxall, 1586–1812, R. Ussher, Hist. of Croxall.
West Hallam, Rev. C. W. Kerry,
Jour. Derby Arch. Soc. 1887

ESSEX. Theydon Mount, 1564–1815, J. J. Howard, LL.D. & H. F. Burke, Theydon Mount and its Lords, &c.

GLO'STERSHIRE. Hampnett, Mar. 1737–1754, Glouc. Notes and Queries, vols. i. and ii.
Maisemore, Bap., 1600–1663, Mar. 1557–1590, Bur. 1538–1599, Glouc. N & Q., vol. iv.
Pebworth, Mar. 1595–1700, Glouc. N & Q., vol. iv.

HEREFORDSHIRE. Upton Bishop, Mar. 1571–1883, Rev. F. T. Havergal, Records of Upton Bishop.

LANCASHIRE. Bolton, 1573–1712. Bolton Weekly Journal.
Oldham, 1558–1658, Local Notes and Gleanings.
Oldham, 1887, 8vo
Preston, 1611–1631, Tom C. Smith, Records of Par. Ch. of Preston Preston, 1892, 4to

LEICESTERSHIRE. Shackerston, 1558–1630, Leic. Architec. Soc., vol. v.
Somerby, 1601–1715, Leic. Architec. Soc., vol. v.

LINCOLNSHIRE. Horncastle, from 1639, J. C. Hudson (*see* also No. 1 list), Par. Mag., 1892.

LONDON. Bermondsey, from 1598, Genealogist, New Ser.
St. Mary-le-Strand, Mar. 1605-1625, Genealogist, New Ser. iv. and v.

NORFOLK. Burgh, 1563–1810, see No. 1 list and Norf. Archæol. Soc. Proc.

NOTTS. Carlton in Lindrick, from 1539, Par. Mag. 1886–8.

OXFORDSHIRE. Ducklington, Index 1550–1880, N. Oxford Archæol. Soc. (*see* List 1) 1880
Oxford, Christchurch, 1633–1884, Misc. Geneal. et Herald: 2nd Ser., vol. i.

STAFFORDSHIRE. West Bromwich, Bap. and Bur. 1608–1616, Par. Mag. 1879

WARWICKSHIRE. Birmingham, St. Martin, 1554–1653, Midland Antiquary, vol. iii. (*see* also List 1).

YORKS. Allerston, *see* Ebberston.
Ackworth, 1558–1599, Yorks. Notes and Queries, vol. i.
Bradford, from 1596, Bradford Antiquary (*in progress*).

YORKS. (*continued*)
Burnsall, 1558–1740, Rev. W. J. Stavert, Par. Mag. (*in progress*).
Dewsbury, 1538–1599, S. J. Chadwick, Par. Mag. 1892.
Ebberston (and Allerston), Par. Mag. from 1887 4to
Halifax, 1538–1541, W. J. Walker, Registers of Halifax 1885, 4to
Rotherham, 1542–1563, J. Guest, Hist. Notices of Rotherham.
Staveley, Bap. 1582–1653, Mar. 1584–1652, Bur. 1582–1638 Par. Mag. 1885
York Minster, Bur. 1634–1836, York Archæol. Jour., vol. i., Mar. 1681–1762, vol. ii., Bap. 1686–1804, vol. vi.

No. 3.—Original Registers and Bishops' Transcripts in the British Museum Library.]

ORIGINAL REGISTERS.

BERKS. Steventon, 1556–1599, Harl. MS. 2395.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Papworth Everard, 1565–1692, Add. MS. 31854.

LEICESTERSHIRE. Somerby, 1601–1715, Add. MS. 24802 (*see* No. 1 List).

MIDDLESEX. Staines, Bap. and Bur. 1653–1691, Mar. 1653–1660, Egerton MS. 2004

WILTS. Alderbury, 1606–1669, Add. MS. 27441.

BISHOPS' TRANSCRIPTS.

ESSEX. Aveley, 1636–1813, Add. MS. 28737.
Barling, 1768, Add MS. 32344.

KENT. Boxley, 1585–6, 1599–1600, Add. MS. 32344.
Brookland, 1615, Add. MS. 32344.
Faversham, 1730–1731, Add. MS. 32344.
Ringwould, 1636, Add. MS. 32344.
Upchurch, 1612, 1661, Add. MS. 32344.

LANCASHIRE. Childwall, 1670, Add. MS. 32344.

SHROPSHIRE. High Ercall, 1630, 1632–4, 1636, 1663–4, Add: MS. 32344.

STAFFORDSHIRE. Bobbington, 1662–1812, Add. MS. 28738.
Uttoxeter, 1762–1766, Add. MS. 32311.

No. 4.—Registers of other Churches.

Printed Registers.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

BERKS. Upton Court, 1741–1828, F. Crisp, pr. 1889, fol.

BUCKS. Weston Underwood, 1710–1785, F. Crisp, pr. 1887, fol.

SURREY. Woburn Lodge, Weybridge, 1750–1874, F. Crisp, pr. 1888, fol.

WORCESTERSHIRE. Worcester, Bap. 1685–1837, F. Crisp, 1887, fol.

NONCONFORMIST.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Wisbech, Reg. Gen. Baptist Ch., W. Winkley 1860, 8vo

YORKSHIRE. Coley, *see* Northowram.
Doncaster, Friends, Mar. 1794–1865, C. H. Hatfield, Hist. Not. of Donc. Series 2.
Keighley, Friends, Yorkshire Notes and Queries, vol. ii.
Northowram, Noncon. 1644–1752, J. H. Turner, 1881, 8vo

FOREIGN CHURCHES.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Thorney, French Colony, 1654–1727, Rev. R. H. Warner, Hist. of Thorney Abbey.

HANTS. Southampton, Walloon Church, 1567–1779, Huguenot Soc., vol iv., 4to

IRELAND. Dublin, Huguenot Church, Hug. Soc., vol. vii., in press

KENT. Canterbury, French Church, Hug. Soc., vol. v., part i., 1891, part ii., in press
Dover, French Church, F. A. Crisp 1888, fol.

LONDON. Austin Friars, Dutch Church, 1571–1874, W. J. C. Moëns, F.S.A. Lymington, 1884, 4to

NORFOLK. Norwich, Walloon Church, 1595–1611, Hug. Soc., vol. i., part ii. Lymington, 1888, 4to

YORKSHIRE. Sandtoft, French Prot. Church, 1642–1685, Yorks Archeol. Jour., vol. vii.

MS. Transcripts.

ESSEX. Colchester, Dutch Church. Bap. 1645–1728, W. J. C. Moëns, F.S.A.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Rodborough, Diss. Prot., Bap. 1762–1837, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A.

LONDON. Bunhill Fields, Bur. 1713–1826, Chester MSS.

SURREY. Capel, Friends (Pleystowe Reg.) Births 1651–1819, Mar. 1666–1676, Bur. 1664–1849, A. Ridley Bax.
Reigate, Friends, Births 1667–1675, Mar. 1665–1676 Bur. 1664–1677, A. R. Bax.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—A Digest of the Registers of Births, Marriages, Deaths and Burials of Members (principally) of the Society of Friends in England and Wales, from the rise of the Society, *circa* 1650 to 1837, arranged in geographical areas called Quarterly Meetings, the entries for each Quarterly Meeting being also arranged alphabetically and chronologically.
Central Offices, Devonshire House, E.C.

No. 5.—A List of MS. Transcripts.

This List is for general information, to prevent the duplication of transcription and facilitate publication; many of the owners of the transcripts wish it to be understood that they will not undertake to make searches, give extracts, or enter into correspondence. The names given are those of the present owners; the Chester MSS. are at the College of Arms.

BEDFORDSHIRE. Milton Ernest, 1538–1678, Chester MSS.

BERKS. Beenham, from 1561.
Burghfield, Bap. 1562-1643, Mar. 1559–1643, Bur. 1559–1635, the Rector.
Denchworth, from 1538 (old), Miss Thoyts.
Englefield, 1561–1889, A. A. Harrison.
Fribsham, Bap. 1711–1768, Mar. 1711–1720, Bur. 1721–1768, Index, Miss Thoyts.
Purley (old), Miss Thoyts.
Streatly, from 1679, the Rector.
Sulhamstead Abbots, 1603–1810, Miss E. Thoyts.
Sulhamstead Banister, 1660–1787, Miss E. Thoyts.
Ufton, 1636–1736, the Rector (by Miss Thoyts).

CHESHIRE. Brereton-cum-Smethwick, 1538–1620, C. J. Bradshaw
Chester, St. Bridgit, Bap. 1560–1638, Mar. 1560–1637, Bur. 1560–1666, Brit. Mus., Harl. MS. 2177.
Chester, St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Bap. 1547–1572, Mar. 1547–1551, Bur. 1547–1553, Harl. MS. 2177.

CHESHIRE. Chester, St. Olave, Bap., Mar. and Bur. 1611–1644, and Bur. 1654–1673, Harl. MS. 2177.
Chester, Trinity, 1598–1653, Harl. MS. 2177.

DEVON. Alwington, Bap. and Mar. 1550–1716, Bur. 1550–1775, Chester MSS.
Bradford, 1559–1812, Chester MSS.
Hartland, Bap. 1557–1812, Mar. 1557–1837, Bur. 1577–1866, Chester MSS.
Hollacombe, 1638–1738. Chester MSS.
Littleham, 1538–1812, Chester MSS.
Mamhead, 1549, Rev. W. C. Plenderleith.
Newton, St. Petrock, 1578–1812, Chester MSS.
Parkham, 1537–1812, Chester, MSS.
Shaugh Prior, 1565–1887, MS. Coll. Arms.
Shebbear, 1576–1812, Chester MSS.

DORSET. Halstock, Bap. 1698, Mar. 1701, Bur. 1698–1812, Rev. R. F. Meredith (Indexed).

DURHAM. Denton, Bap. 1673–1714, Mar. 1673–1715, Bur. 1673–1717, Rev. J. Edleston (earlier Register printed).
Gainford, Bap. 1784–1841, Mar. 1754–1837, Bur. 1784–1852, Rev. J. Edleston (earlier Register printed).
Whorlton, Bap. 1626–1724, Mar. 1713–1724, Bur. 1669–1724, Rev. J. Edleston (Indexed).

ESSEX. Debden, 1557–1777, Chester MSS.
Stansted Montfichet, 1558–1760 (per J. J. Green), Brit. Mus.

GLO'STERSHIRE. King Stanley, Bap. 1573–1812, Mar. 1573–1813, Bur. 1573–1881, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A.
Leonard Stanley, Bap. 1575–1600, Mar. 1570–1613, Bur. 1571–1664, and 1773–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A.

HANTS. Ashe, Bap. 1607, Mar. 1606, Bur. 1618–1720), Rev. F. W. Thoyts.
Dunmer, 1540–1889, S. Andrews (Index in progress.)
Eastrop, 1750–1888, S. Andrews (Indexed).
Knights Enham, Bap. 1683-1812, Mar. 1697-1805, Bur. 1758–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A.
Steventon, 1604-1888, S. Andrews.
Upton Grey, 1558–1837, Miss G. T. Martin.

HERTS. St. Alban's Abbey, 1558–1689, Chester MSS.
Weston, Bap. and Bur. 1539–1760, Mar. 1539–1757, M. R. Pryor.

KENT. Beckenham, 1538–1716, A. O. Barron.
Beckenham, Bap. 1717–1784, Mar. 1717–1790, Bur. 1717–1785, L. L. Duncan, F.S.A.
Chislehurst, 1558–1760, L. L. Duncan, F.S.A.

KENT. (*continued*)
Davington, Index 1549–1862, B. M. Add. MS. 28837.
Maidstone, 1542–1740, Rev. J. Cave-Browne (part pub.).
Marden, Canon Benham.
Margate, Canon Benham.
Orpington, 1560–1754, H. C. Kirby.
Preston (Faversham), 1559–1812, Rev. J. Russell Cooke.
Thanet, St. Peter, 1582–1777, Soc. of Antiq. MS. (by Canon Benham).
Thanington, Mar. 1558–1737, J. M. Cowper.

LANCASHIRE. Oldham, Bap. 1558–1611. MS. Coll. Arms.
Warrington, 1st Register Warrington Museum.

LONDON.
All Hallows, Lombard Street, 1550–1867, Chester MSS.
Bunhill Fields, Bur. 1713–1826, Chester MSS.
Charterhouse Chapel, Bap. 1696–1812, Mar. 1671–1754. Bur. 1695–1812, Dr. F. Collins.
Chapel Royal, Whitehall, 1704–1867, Chester MSS.
Chelsea, Mar. 1559–1754, Chester MSS.
Mercers' Chapel, 1641–1833, Chester MSS.
Rolls' Chapel, 1736–1826, Chester MSS.
St. Benet, Gracechurch, 1558–1866, Chester MSS.
St. Leonard, Eastcheap, 1538–1812, Chester MSS.
Temple Church, complete, Chester MSS.
Westminster, St. Margaret, complete, Chester MSS.

MIDDLESEX. Epping, 1538–1750, W. C. Metcalfe, F.S.A. (indexed to 1667).

NORFOLK.
Antingham, 1679–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Bacton, 1558–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Bradfield, 1725–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Bunstead, 1561–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Castle Acre, Bap. 1695–1699, Mar. 1710–1748. Bur. 1695–1698, Rev. J. H. Bloom.
Garveston, 1539–1812, Chester MSS.
Horsey, Bap. and Bur. 1559–1812, Mar. 1571–1677, Rev. F. Procter.
Ingham, Bap. and Bur. 1800–1812, Mar. 1800–1838 (the register burnt), Rev. F. Procter.
Mundesley, 1724–1744, and 1756–1812, Rev. F. Protcer.
Palling, 1779–1812 (Register lost), Rev. F. Procter.
Swafield, 1660–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Thorpemarket, 1537–1739, Rev. F. Procter.
Thuxton, complete, Chester MSS.
Waxham, 1780–1812 (Register lost), Rev. F. Procter.
West Somerton, 1736–1812, Rev. F. Procter.
Westwick, Bap. and Bur. 1642–1812, Mar. 1642–1836, Rev. F. Procter.
Winterton, with E. Somerton, 1717–1812 (after fire), Rev. F. Procter.

NORTHANTS. Lilford, 1564–1777, Chester MSS.
Wadenhoe, complete, Chester MSS.

NOTTS. Carlton-in-Lindrick, Mar. 1559–1754, Bap. and Bur. 1559–1678, G. W. Marshall LL.D., Coll. Arms.
Ratcliffe-on-Soar, 1597–1773, Rev. E. F. Taylor.
Sutton, St. Ann, 1560–1759, Rev. E. F. Taylor.

OXFORD. Oxford, All Saints, 1559–1866, Chester MSS.
Oxford, St. Giles, Mar. 1559–1754, Bap. 1576–1769, Bur. 1605–1768, Chester MSS.
Oxford, St. Mary Magdalen, 1600–1726, Chester MSS.
Oxford, St. Mary the Virgin, 1599–1866, Chester MSS.
Oxford, St. Peter-in-the-East, 1559-1866, Chester MSS.

RUTLAND. Edith Weston, Bap. 1585, Mar. and Bur. 1586–1836, Rev. A. Trollope.
Hambledon, Bap. and Bur. 1558–1812, Mar. 1558–1846, Rev. Geo. Gibb.
Luffenham (North), Bap. 1572–1748, Mar. and Bur. 1565–1749, Rev. P. G. Dennis.
Lyndon, Bap. and Bur. 1580–1813, Mar. 1580–1837, Rev. T. K. B. Nevinson.
Thistleton, Rev. M. A. Thomson.

SHROPSHIRE. Quatford, 1636–1811, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 28746.

SOMERSET. Banwell, 1568–1797, Chester MSS.

STAFFORDSHIRE. Clent, 1562–1812, J. Amphlett.
Ingestre, 1691–1733 (per C. J. Bradshaw).

SURREY. Banstead, Bap. and Mar. 1547–1750, Bur. 1547–1789, F. A. H. Lambert, F.S.A.
Beddington, Mar. 1538–1754, R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.
Coulsdon, Mar. 1655–1753, R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.
Farleigh, Bap. and Bur. 1678–1812, Mar. 1679–1810, R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.
Godalming, Bap. 1582–1625, Mar. and Bur. 1583–1625, Ralph Nevill, F.S.A.
Horley, Bap. 1630–1700, Mar. 1630–1753, Bur. 1599–1700, A. R. Bax.
Mitcham, 1563–1678, Chester, MSS.
Richmond, 1583–1812, J. Challenor Smith.
Woldingham, Bap. 1766–1812, Mar. 1769–1810, Bur. 1765–1811, R. G. Rice.

SUSSEX. Ardingly, 1558–1724 (by Rev. J. H. L. Booker), The Rector, Indexed and annotated.
Balcombe, Bap. 1554, Mar. 1539, Bur. 1540–1746 (by Rev. J. H. L. Booker), The Rector.
Crawley, Mar. 1688–1750, R. Garraway Rice.
Ditchling, Bap. 1557 and Mar. and Bur. 1556–1750, Capt. Attree, R.E. Indexed.

SUSSEX. East Grinstead, Bap. 1558–1760, Mar. 1559–1760, Bur. 1574–1760, R. Payne Crawfurd.
Edburton, 1558–1673, Sussex Arch. Soc. (*see* No. 1 List).
Horsham, Bap. and Bur. 1540–1761, Mar. 1541–1753, R. Garraway Rice.
Itchingfield, Mar. 1700–1812, R. Garraway Rice.
Nuthurst, Mar. 1653–1754, R. Garraway Rice.
Nuthurst, Bap. and Bur. 1636, B. M. Ayscough, MS. 1677
Wivelsfield, Bap. and Bur. 1559–1780, Mar. 1559–1753, Capt. Attree, R.E.

WARWICKSHIRE. Fillongley, 1538–1653, Rev. A. B. Stevenson.
Lillington, Bap. 1540–1573, Mar. 1541–1573, Bur. 1539–1575, Rev. J. Edleston.

WILTS. Cherhill, 1690–1891, Rev. W. C. Plenderleith.
East Knoyle, 1538–1892, Rev. R. N. Milford (indexed).
Seagry, Bap. and Bur. 1610-1811, Mar. 1611-1753, (old Trans.), D. Hipwell.

WORCESTERSHIRE. Hagley, 1538–1889. Parish and W. Wickham King, Indexed.
Hagley, 1538–1831, (Copy of J. Noakes), J. Amphlett.
Old-Swinford, 1602–1656, W. W. King.
Pedmore, 1539–1886, Parish and W. W. King.

YORKSHIRE. Batley, Bap. and Bur. 1559–1812, Mar. 1559–1803, Mich. Sheard.
Egton, Mar. 1622–1761, Bap. and Bur. 1622–1779.
Farnham, 1570—Bap. and Mar. 1721, Bur. 1720, Dr. F. Collins.
Hemsworth, 1553–1688, Rev. J. H. Bloom, M.A.
Kirby Fleetham, 1591–1718, Chester, MSS.
Kirkdale, 1580–1762, Chester, MSS.
Knaresborough, 1561—Bap. 1767, Mar. 1751, Bur. 1764, Dr. F. Collins.
Mirfield, 1559–1606, Par. Church.
Sheffield, Bap. 1559–1603, Rev. C. V. Collier.
Sheffield, Bap. by Rev. Jollie, 1681–1704, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 24486.
Wintringham, 1558–1700, Chester, MSS.
Wragley, 1538– Rev. E. Sankey.
York, St. Martin cum Gregory, 1540-1780, Indexed to 1740, Rev. E. Bulmer.

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SECOND REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE

FOR PROMOTING THE

TRANSCRIPTION AND PUBLICATION

OF

PARISH REGISTERS,

WITH CALENDAR OF REGISTERS

Printed and transcribed since the first Report of 1892.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1896

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Report of the Parish Register Committee, 1896.

The Committee in issuing the present supplement to their Report and Lists of 1892 have great pleasure in calling attention to the large increase in the number of Transcripts made; many of these, there is reason to believe, owe their existence to the help and stimulus given by the former report.

It is to be noted that a large number of the Transcripts have been made for the use of the various Parishes, and will therefore be accessible to the public.

It appears to the Committee that the evidence supplied by this supplemental List shows that the supposed impossibility of ever transcribing the whole of the Parish Registers of the Kingdom is imaginary, and that by enlisting and encouraging local effort, the very desirable object may be obtained at no great distance of time.

The list of Transcribers' names shows how much may be done by individual workers, and much more might easily be done by some organised effort by Diocesan authorities.

The Committee hail with satisfaction the successful formation of a Society for printing Parish Registers, under the patronage of the Archbishops and many of the Bishops. The Hon. Sec. is E. A. Fry, Esq., of 172, Edmund Street, Birmingham, who will be happy to give any information on the subject. The Society has already issued five Registers in return for the annual guinea subscription, and in the event of an increase in the number of subscribers will be able to print more Registers annually. In cases where some local help can be guaranteed, special arrangements can be made for printing Registers.

Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore (124, Chancery Lane) is also printing a series of complete Marriage Registers of Counties. Those of Gloucestershire are now being printed, and others for Hants, Kent, Northants, Notts, and Somerset are in active preparation. It is intended to arrange for other Counties.

Mr. Wm. Brigg, B.A. (Harpenden, Herts.), is printing in the "Herts. Genealogist" a useful series of Bishops' Transcripts for the periods for which the Parish Registers are lost.

It is gratifying to find that, at the instance of the Diocesan Conferences of St. Alban's and Worcester, Committees have been formed to obtain from all Incumbents in the Dioceses returns of the Registers existing in their Parishes, their exact dates and condition.

An effort will then be made to get the books put into proper repair.

The Rev. O. W. Tancock, of Little Waltham Rectory, Chelmsford, is Hon. Sec. of the St. Alban's Committee, and E. A. Fry, Esq., of the Worcester, and either of these gentlemen will be glad to answer enquiries as to their method of work, so that a uniform plan may be adopted in other Dioceses.

The St. Alban's "Diocesan Quarterly" for the past quarter (No. 15, price 3*d.* post free, W. Root, Halstead, Essex) contains an account of what has been done in the St. Alban's Diocese.*

It is to be hoped that an effort will afterwards be made to get all the Registers transcribed and indexed, and copies kept in the Parish for reference. A small fee should be agreed upon as to be charged for consultation of the Transcript for purposes of Genealogical research, the charge for certified extracts from the original Registers remaining, of course, as at present.

The Committee are again indebted to Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. (Rouge Croix) for his revision of the list of Printed Registers. The somewhat arduous labour of compiling and editing the Calendar has been undertaken by Ralph Nevill, F.S.A. the Hon. Sec. of the Committee, and E. A. Fry, the Hon. Sec. of the Parish Register Society.

All who may publish to transcribe Registers in future are invited to send particulars to either of the above named gentlemen, who have undertaken to compile the next List.

RALPH NEVILL, *Hon. Sec.*
13, *Addison Cresent,*
Kensington.

The particulars obtained of the Registers of Herts. will be printed in Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries, commencing January, 1897 (*Messrs. Hardy & Page,* 44, *Chancery Lane, W.C.*).

* *The Worcester Diocesan Mag. for December,* 1896 (*Midland Education Co., Corporation Street, Birmingham, price* 2½*d. post free*), *contains a similar Report for the Worcester Diocese.*

The First Report of the Committee, issued in 1892, contains advice as to the transcription and publication of Registers, and a specimen alphabet of the characters chiefly used.

There are also Calendars of all Registers known to have been transcribed or printed up to the date of issue. The Calendars here given are supplementary to those in the First Report.

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List No. 1.—Parish Registers printed as separate works.
„ No. 2.—Parish Registers printed in other works.
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„ No. 5.—Sundry Records of allied character.

No. 1.—List of Parish Registers that have been printed as separate works.

BERKS. READING, St. Giles, 1518–1546, Walter L. Nash.

CHESHIRE. BIDSTONE, 1581–1700, W. F. Irvine.
STOCKPORT, St. Mary, 1584–1620, E. W. Bulkely 1889

CORNWALL. REDRUTH, 1560–1716, J. C. Peter, Redruth 1894, 4to

CUMBERLAND. DALSTON, vol. i. 1570–1678, vol. ii. 1679–1812, Rev. J. Wilson, M.A., 1893 and 1896. Indexed, with corrections from Bishops' transcripts.
KIRK OSWALD, 1577–1609, Canon Thornley 1895, 8vo
PENRITH, 1556–1601, G. Watson 1893, 8vo

DORSETS. BERE HACKETT, 1549–1745, E. A. Fry, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo
CAUNDLE BISHOP, 1570–1814, Rev. Canon C. H. Mayo (Dorset Records) 1895, 8vo
HOLNEST, 1589–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records) 1894, 8vo
LONG BURTON, 1580–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records) 1894, 8vo

DURHAM. DURHAM CATHEDRAL, 1609–1896, Harl. Soc. (in press).

ESSEX. FYFIELD, 1538–1700, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr. 1896, fol.

GLO'STERS. MARSHFIELD, 1558–1793, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr.

KENT. BEAKESBOURNE, 1558–1812, Rev. C. H. Wilkie, pr. dmy. 8vo
ORPINGTON, 1560–1754, H. C. Kirby Lond. 1895, 8vo

LANCS. HAWKSHEAD, 1568–1794, H. Swainson Cooper, F.S.A. dmy. 8vo

LINCOLNS. HORBLING, 1653–1837, H. Peet Liverpool, 1895, 8vo

LONDON. Charterhouse Chapel, Bap. 1696–1836, Mar. 1671–1754 and 1837–1890, Bur. 1695–1854, Francis Collins, M.D., Harl. Soc., vol. xviii.
Christchurch, Newgate Street, 1538–1754, W. A. Littledale, M.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xxi.
St. George's Chapel, Mayfair, Bap. 1740– and Mar. 1735–1754 (wrongly entered in last list), George J. Armytage, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xv.
St. George's, Hanover Square, Mar. 1810–1836 (in press), Harl. Soc.
St. James', Clerkenwell, Bur. 1551–1754, Robt. Hovenden, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xvii., xix., and xx.

NORFOLK. Norwich, St. George's Tombland, 1538–1707.

NORTHANTS. Maxey, 1538–1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A. (Mitchell & Hughes) 1892, 8vo

NOTTS. Wellow, 1703–1812, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Exeter, 1896, 8vo
Worksop, 1558–1771, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Guildford, 1894, 8vo

RUTLAND. North Luffenham, 1572–1812, Rev. P. J. Dennis, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

SOMERSET. Bruton, 1826–1890, Rev. T. A. Strong.

SUFFOLK. Bardwell, 1538–1650, Rev. F. E. Warren, F.S.A. (Mitchell & Hughes).
Bramfield, 1539–1889, Rev. T. S. Hill (Mitchell & Hughes).

SURREY. Banstead, 1547–1789, F. H. Lambert, F.S.A., Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

WARWICKS. Fillongley, 1538–1653, Rev. A. B. Stevenson.

WESTMORELAND. Asby, 1657–1798, T. R. Rivington 1894, 8vo
Ravenstonedale, 1570–1812, Rev. R. W. Metcalfe 1893, 8vo

WORCESTERS. Knightwick with Doddenham, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, F.S.A. 1891, small fol.
Worcester, St. Alban's, 1630–1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

YORKS. Batley, 1559–1800, M. Sheard.
Bolton Abbey, 1689–1812, Rev. A. P. Howes, M.A. Skipton, 1895, 8vo
Burnsall, vol. i. 1559–1700, vol. ii. 1701–1739 and 1783–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1893, 8vo
Conistone, 1567–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1894, 8vo
Felkirk, 1701–1812, A. N. J. Royds, Rochdale, 1894, 8vo
Monk Fryston, 1538–1678, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

YORKS. (*continued*)
RYLSTONE, vol. i. 1559–1723, vol. ii. 1724–1812, Rev. C. H. Lowe, M.A. Leeds, 1895-6, 8vo
SADDLEWORTH, 1613–1751, J. Radcliffe 1887, 8vo
SKIPTON-IN-CRAVEN, vol. i. 1592–1680, vol. ii. 1680–1745, vol. iii. 1745–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1891–6, 8vo
YORK, Holy Trinity, 1586–1760, Rev. E. Bulmer (in progress).
YORK, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, 1538–1745, Rev. E. Bulmer (in progress).

No. 2.—List of Parish Registers printed in books and periodicals.

BERKS. DIDCOT, Bap. 1562–1647, Berks Notes and Queries, Oct. 1890, to April 1891.

CAMBRIDGES. CAMBRIDGE, St. Michael, 1538–1837, J. Venn, Camb. Antiqu. Soc., vol. xxv. (complete part) 1891, 8vo

CHESHIRE. STOCKPORT, Cheshire Notes and Queries.

DURHAM. ESH, 1566– Pro. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

*GLO'STERS. FORTHAMPTON, Mar. 1678–1812, Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell, Glouc. Mar. Reg.
FROCESTER, Mar. 1559–1799, Rev. W. Symonds, Glouc. Notes and Queries.
KING STANLEY, Mar. 1573–1812, Rev. T. W. Cattell and Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, G. M. R.
MAISEMORE, Bap. 1600–1663, Mar. 1557–1590, Bur. 1538–1599, G. N. & Q.
NYMPSFIELD, Mar. 1679-1812, Rev. J. Silvester, G. M. R.
OWLPEN, Mar. 1677–1895, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. W. B. Benison, G. M. R.
PEBWORTH, Mar. 1595–1700, Rev. T. P. Wadley, G. N. & Q.
QUEDGELY, Mar. 1559–1836, Rev. E. L. Bryan and Rev. W. Symonds, G. M. R.
RENDCOMBE, Mar. 1566–1812, Rev. G. E. A. Kempson, G. M. R.
SLIMBRIDGE, Mar. 1635–1812, Rev. W. Symonds, G. M. R.
SWINDON, Mar. 1638–1838, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S., G. M. R.
WHADDON, Mar. 1674–1711, G. N. & Q.

* The Glo'ster Marriage Registers are being printed in Glo'ster Notes and Queries, and will be issued in volumes, the first of which is now complete. *See* Preface.

HANTS. Ashe, Rev. J. Thoyts, Par. Hist. of Ashe, Clowes & Sons 1888

HERTS. Chipping Barnet, Bishops' Transcripts for sundry years, missing from Par. Reg., 1569–1682, Wm. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist, vol. ii.

Northaw, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1564–1748, Herts. Geneal., vols. i. and ii.

St. Alban's Abbey, 1558–1689, Wm. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Geneal. Supplement.

St. Alban's, St. Michael's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years 1572–1630, Herts. Geneal., vol. i.

St. Alban's, St. Stephen's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1561–1600, Herts. Geneal., vol. i.

Wigginton, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1609–1670, Herts. Geneal., vol. ii.

LINCOLNS. Kingerby, 1562–1760 (in progress in Northern Genealogist), Bishop's Transcript.

MIDDLESEX. Chiswick, Mar. 1678–1800 (in "Chiswick"), W. P. W. Phillimore.

NORTHANTS. Clay Coton, 1541– (in progress, Northern Genealogist).

Maxey, 1538–1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A., Mis. Gen. et Herald. (*See* also List 1.)

NORTHUMBERLAND. Elsdon, 1672– , Proc. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne (in progress).

Warkworth, Bap. and Mar. 1688, Bur. 1674, J. C. Hodgson, Proc. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne (in progress).

NOTTS. Newark, Mar. 1650–1662, Northern Genealogist.

Ollerton, 1592–1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The Genealogist.

Wellow, 1703–1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The Genealogist.

SOMERSET. Street, 1599– (in progress in The Genealogist).

SUFFOLK. Freston, 1538–1894, Rev. C. R. Durrant, "Life in a Suffolk village," 1887–91.

WARWICKS. Southam, 1539—Bap. 1633, Mar. 1657, Bur. 1647, W. Gardner, Hist. Notices of Southam 1895, 4to

WORCESTERS. Inkberrow, 1675–1778, Rev. T. N. Leeke, Par. Mag.

Northfield, 1560–1576, W. F. Carter, Par. Mag.

Rous Lench, 1538– , Rev. Dr. Chafy Chafy, Par. Mag.

YORKS. Leeds, St. Peter's, 1572–1612, Rev. E. Cookson, Thoresby Society.

Startforth, 1661–1691 (in progress in Northern Genealogist).

Whitkirk, 1603–1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Records of Whitkirk Leeds, 1892

No. 3.—List of MS. Transcripts.

Those marked "Par." are in the custody of the Clergy for Parish use.

BEDFORDS. Biggleswade, 1562–1598, John Powell.

BERKS. Bisham, 1560–1845, Edgar Powell.
Didcot, Bap. 1562–1678, Mar. 1571–1674, Bur. 1568–1681, G. Tudor Sherwood.
Upton-near-Blewbury, &c., 1588–1741, J. F. Fry.

CAMBRIDGES. Babraham, 1561– , Rev. T. D. Gray (in progress).
Cambridge, All Saints', 1538–1702, C. L. Acland (in progress).

CHESHIRE. Barrow-by-Tarvin, Bap. 1572–1623, Mar. 1590–1619, Bur. 1572–1622, mixed 1629–1679, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
Chester Cathedral, 1687–1871, T. Hughes, F.S.A.
Chester, St. John's, Bap. and Mar. 1599–1626, Bur. 1661–1723, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
„ St. Oswald's, 1580–1650, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
„ St. Peter's, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
Northenden, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
Overchurch, *i.e.*, Upton, 1660–1812, W. F. Irvine.
Swettenham, 1570–1820, Cyril Lockett.
Warburton, 1611–1752, Rev. G. Egerton-Warburton, M.A.

CUMBERLAND. Brampton, 1663–1702, Rev. H. Whitehead.
Newton Reigny, 1571–1812, Rev. H. Whitehead.
Penrith, 1602–1812, Geo. Watson.

DENBIGHS. Gresford, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.

DERBYS. Repton, 1580–1670, Rev. F. C. Hipkins.
Somershall-Herbert, 1537–1812, Rev. H. C. Fitzherbert (Indexed, &c.).
Staveley, Bap. 1558–1665, Mar. 1587–1666, Bur. 1588–1693, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

DEVON. *Alwington, Mar., Bap. and Bur. 1550–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
Anstey, East, Mar. 1674, Bap. and Bur. 1596–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
„ West, 1653–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

* Transcripts of those Parishes thus marked were entered in the first Report as among the Chester MSS. These were copied from the Transcripts here entered.

DEVON. (*continued*)

Atherington, Mar. 1548, Bap. 1538, Bur. 1570–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Berry Narbor, Bap. 1550, Mar. and Bur. 1540–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Bideford, 1561–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Bradford, Mar. 1558–1754, Bap. 1558 and Bur. 1559–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Brawnton, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Chittlehampton, a fragment, Mar. and Bur. 1576–78, Bap. 1575–79, Mar., Bap. Bur. 1637–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Clyst St. George, 1567–1748, Rev. J. L. Gibbs.

Dolton, Mar. 1610, Bap. and Bur. 1608–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Fremington, Mar. 1602–1837, Bap. and Bur. 1602–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Hartland, 1558—Mar. 1837, Bap. 1812, Bur. 1866, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Heanton Punchardon, Mar. 1559, Bap. 1656, Bur. 1559–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

High Bickington, Mar. 1754–1837, Bap. and Bur. 1707–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Hollacombe, 1638–1739, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Huish, Mar. 1600–1789, Bap. and Bur. 1595–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Huntshaw, Mar. 1755, Bap. and Bur. 1746–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Littleham (Bideford), 1538–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Little Torrington, 1672–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Marwood, 1602—Mar. 1812, Bap. 1784, Bur. 1800, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Meeth, Mar. 1656, Bap. and Bur. 1653-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Merton, Mar. 1688, Bap. and Bur. 1687–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Newton St. Petrock, Mar. and Bap. 1578, Bur. 1723–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Parkham, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Plymtree, 1538–1800, Mrs. J. Rose Troup.

Pulford, West, Mar. 1670—Bap. and Bur. 1668–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Roborough, 1549–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Rockbeare, 1645—Bap. and Bur. 1676, Mar. 1672, Mrs. J. Rose Troup.

Roseash, 1591–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

St. Giles-in-the-Wood, Mar. and Bap. 1555–1743, Bur. 1556–1746, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*Shebbear, 1576–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

Stoke Rivers, 1553—Bap. and Mar. 1744, Bur. 1707, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

DEVON. (*continued*)
Wear Gifford, 1583–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
West Down, –1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
Westleigh, Mar. 1561–1757, Bap. 1560–1776, Bur. 1559–1776, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
Winkleigh, Mar. 1569–1791, Bap. 1585, Bur. 1569–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
Woolfardisworthy, 1723–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
Yarnscombe, 1653–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

DORSET.
Chideock, 1654–1812, Rev. C. V. Goddard.
Lydlinch, 1559–1812, Rev. C. H. Mayo.
Sturminster Marshall, 1562–1694, Rev. J. Cross.
Tarrant Hinton, 1545–1812, Rev. A. S. Newman.
Thornford, 1677–1812, E. A. Fry.
Whitechurch Canonicorum, Bap. 1558–1680, index form, Rev. R. G. Bartleit.

DURHAM.
Denton, 1714–1812 (*continuation*), Rev. J. Edleston.
Dimsdale, Bap. 1556–1806, Mar. 1564–1754, Bur. 1562–1812, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
Ebchester, Bap. and Bur. 1619–1731, Mar. 1621–1731, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
Whitburn, Mar. 1579– , Robt. Blair, F.S.A. (in progress).
Wilton, Bap. 1571– , Robt. Blair, F.S.A. (in progress).
Wilton-le-Wear, 1558–1745, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.

ESSEX.
Aythorpe Roding, 1559–1636, Par.
Boreham, 1559–1800, R. H. Browne, Par.
Braintree, 1660–1812, R. H. Browne, Vicar.
Broomfield, 1546–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
Chelmsford, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne.
Chignall, S. James', 1724–1812 (earlier lost), Rev. O. W. Tancock.
Chigwell, 1653–1812, R. H. Browne.
Earl's Colne, 1560–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
East Ham, Bap. and Bur. 1700–1803, Mar. 1695–1804, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Lamborne, 1582–1812, R. H. Browne (*see* also 1st Report).
Leighs, Great, 1556–1812, The Rector.
„ Little, 1679–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
Maldon, All Saints', 1558–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library, Maldon.
„ St. Mary, 1558–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library.
„ St. Peter's, 1556–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library.
Mashbury, 1539–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
Navestock, 1538–1812, Par.
Pleshey, 1656–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
Rainham, 1570–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
Roxwell, 1558–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.

ESSEX. (*continued*)

Springfield, 1570–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, M.A.
Stapleford Abbots, 1653–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
Thaxted, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne (in progress).
Thurrock, West, 1668–1712 (made 1805), Par.
Totternhoe, 1558–1670, Rev. S. A. Woolward (Indexed).
Waltham Parva, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne, Par. and Guildhall Library.
West Ham, Mar. 1653–1801, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
White Colne, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne, Par. and Guildhall Library.
Widford, 1619–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
Woodham Walter, 1558–1800, R. H. Browne, Par.
Writtle, 1634–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.

GLO'STERS.

Aston-sub-Edge, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
,, Mar. only 1539–1719, S. G. Hamilton.
To be printed in Gloucester Marriage Registers.
Bishops Cleeve, Mar. 1563–1812, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
Cam, Mar. 1569–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R. (in progress).
Campden, Mar. 1616-1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Charlton Kings, Mar. 1538–1812, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
Chedworth, Mar. 1653–1817, Rev. S. Hope, for G. M. R.
Cheltenham, 1558–1812, Sidney Madge, for G. M. R.
Clifford Chambers, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, M.A.
Coaley, Mar. 1625–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev W. Symons, for G. M. R.
Dorsington, 1593–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Dursley, Mar. 1639–1676, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R.
Ebrington, 1567–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Hawkesbury, Mar. 1603–1728, W. P. W. Phillimore, and Rev. E. R. Mosley, for G. M. R.
Kemerton, Mar. 1575–1716, and in progress, Rev. J. J. Mercier, for G. M. R.
Lemington, 1685–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Leonard Stanley, Mar. 1570–1806, T. W. Cattell and R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.
Lidmington, 1691–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Marston Sicca, Mar. only 1680–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Matson, Bap. 1553–1812, Mar. 1563–1879, Bur. 1555–1812, Rev. W. Bazeley.
Mickleton, 1594–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
,, Mar. 1594–1812, S. G. Hamilton, for G. M. R.
Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Mar. , Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Nether Swell, Mar. 1686–1812, Rev. D. Royce, for G. M. R.

GLO'STERS. (*continued*)
Painswick, Mar. 1562–1627, 1653–1705, 1710–1812, Cecil T. Davis, for G. M. R.
Pebworth, 1597–1784, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Preston-on-Stour, 1540–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Quinton, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Sainsbury, Bap. 1563–1569, Mar. 1585–1590, Bur. 1786–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Stinchcombe, Mar. 1583–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. P. Lynch Blosse, for G. M. R.
Stone, Mar. 1594–1812, Rev. C. Cripps, for G. M. R.
Stonehouse, Mar. 1558–1812, R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.
Swindon, Bap. 1606—Mar. 1638–1838, Bur. 1638–1700, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
Todenham, 1721–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Uley, Mar. only 1668–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R.
Upper Slaughter, 1538–1812, J. E. K. Cutts.
Welford-on-Avon, Bap. and Bur. 1561–1768, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Weston-on-Avon, 1685–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Weston-sub-Edge, 1626–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Willersey, 1721–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

HANTS.
Faccombe, Mar. 1546–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. F. H. Harding, for Hants. Mar Reg.
Headley, 1537–1895, Rev. W. H. Laverty.
Hurstbourne Tarrant, Mar. 1546–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.
Knight's Enham, Mar. 1683–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
Linkenholt, Mar. 1585–1738, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.
Monkston, Mar. 1716–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
Penton Mewsey, Mar. 1642–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
Vernham, Mar. 1607–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.

HEREFORDS.
Stoke Bliss, 1571–1717, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.
Thornbury, 1538–1735, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.

HERTS.
Aldenham, 1559–1659, Rev. K. F. Gibbs (in progress).
Flamstead, 1548—Bap. 1726, Mar. 1736, Bur. 1724, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Hertford, St. Andrew, 1566–1653, Par.
Hertingfordbury, 1679–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Pelham Brent, 1539–1773, Par.
Redbourn, 1617–1701, J. E. K. Cutts.

KENT. Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Bap. 1538–1697, Mar. 1622–1698, Bur. 1538–1657, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Newendon, 1559–1850, Rev. E. Jermyn (Indexed).
Reston, Bap. 1541–1684, Mar. 1540–1683, Bur. 1542–1685, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Wickhambreux, Bap. 1563–1612, Mar. 1558–1652, Bur. 1558–1661, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Wingham, Bap. 1568—Bur. 1569–1778, Mar. 1569–1770, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

LANCS. Burnley, 1562–1722, W. Ecroyd.
Hawkshead, 1568–1704, H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A.

LINCOLNS. Doddington, 1690–1812, Rev. R. E. G. Cole.
Epworth, Bap. 1538–1602, Mar. 1564—Bur. 1538–1593, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Scrivelsby, 1565–1812, Rev. Canon Lodge, Par.

LONDON. Bermondsey, St. Mary Magdalen, 1609–1643, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Holy Trinity, Minories, Bap. 1563–1813, Mar. 1579–1664, Bur. 1566–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

MIDDLESEX. Willesden, 1568–1865, Fred. A. Wood (Indexed).

NORFOLK. Bawsey, 1537–1773, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Blo' Norton, 1562—Bap. 1713, Mar. 1712, Bur. 1714, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.
Guest, Bap. 1557–1707, Mar. 1560–1706, Bur. 1558–1723, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.
Newton-by-Castle Acre, 1558–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
West Acre, 1665–1748, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

NORTHANTS. Aldwinkle, All Saints', 1653–1726, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Aldwinkle, St. Peter's, Bap. 1563–1689 and 1701–1711, Mar. 1654–1711, Bur. 1653–1679, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Lilford, Bap. 1559–1779, Mar. 1564–1770, Bur. 1568–1778, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Moulton, 1565–1895, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
Wadenhoe, 1559–1681, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Warkton, 1559–1742, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

NOTTS. Cotham, 1587–1811, J. E. K. Cutts.
Flawborough, Mar. 1681–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for Notts. Mar. Reg.
Orston, Mar 1590–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for N. M. R.
Scarrington, Mar. 1571–1812, Rev. J. Standish, for N. M. R.
Screveton, Mar. 1640–1780, Rev. J. Standish, for N. M. R.

NOTTS. (*continued*) Thoroton, Mar. 1583–1606, W. P. W. Phillimore, for N. M. R.

OXFORDS. Wigginton, 1558–1813, Rev. A. D. Mozley.

RUTLAND. Caldecot, 1605–1783, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Liddington, Bap. 1562—Mar. 1604, Bur. 1561–1725, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

SHROPSHIRE. Alveley, 1561–1721, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Battlefield, 1662–1812, Shrewsbury Free Library.
Cleobury Mortimer, 1574–1847, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.
Hanwood, 1559–1763, Shrewsbury Free Library (Original since burnt).
Kinlet, 1657—Bap. 1868, Mar. 1841, Bur. 1860, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.
Neen Savage, 1575–1709, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.
Shawbury, 1561–1595 and 1618–1646 (1595–1618 lost), Rev. F. Vernon, Par.
Shrawadine, 1645–1812, Shrewsbury Free Library.
Westbury, 1637–1743, — Morris, Shrewsbury Free Library.

SOMERSET. Bath, Abbey Church, 1569—Bap. and Mar. 1754, Bur. 1800, Harl. Soc.
Christow, 1553–1812, E. F. Wade.
Compton Bishop, 1641–1807, E. F. Wade.
Cucklington, 1558–1837, Rev. E. H. Bates (Indexed).
Goathurst, St. David Kemeys Tynte.
St. Michael Church, 1697–1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett.
Stoke Trister, 1751–1837, Rev. E. H. Bates, Par. (Indexed).
Thurloxton, 1558–1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett (Indexed). Another copy by St. David Kemeys Tynte.
Tickenham, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Byrchmore.

STAFFORDS. Checkley, 1625–1825, W. Morton Philips, J.P., D.L.
Leigh, nr. Stoke-on-Trent, 1541–1700, Archdeacon Lane.

SUFFOLK. Burstall, 1540– , Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., and Par. (Indexed).
Combs, Bap. 1558—Mar. 1568, Bur. 1569–1732, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Easton, Mixed 1561–1742, Bap. 1742—Mar. and Bur. 1745–1777, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Ickworth, 1566–1890, Rev. S. H. A. Hervey.
Ipswich, St. Clement's, Bap. and Bur. 1563–1666, Mar. 1564–1666, Rev. E. Cookson.
,, St. Lawrence, 1539—Bap. 1812, Mar. 1754, Bur. 1811, Rev. E. Cookson.
,, St. Mary-atte-Key, 1559– , Rev. E. Cookson, and Par. (Indexed).
,, St. Mary Elms, Bap. and Bur. 1557–1812, Mar. 1554–1753, Rev. E. Cookson, M.A.

SUFFOLK. (*continued*)
Ipswich, St. Matthew's, 1559—Bap. 1695, Mar. 1702, Bur. 1701, Rev. E. Cookson (Indexed). Index with parish.
„ St. Nicholas, Bap. and Mar. 1539–1728, Bur. 1552–1731, Rev. E. Cookson, Par. (Indexed).
„ St. Peter's, Bap. 1657–1790, Mar. 1662–1786, Bur. 1658–1789 (older books lost), Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., Par. (Indexed).
„ St. Stephen's, Bap. 1583–1690, Mar. 1586–1678, Bur. 1586–1679, Rev. E. Cookson, M.A., Par. (Indexed).
Kirkley, 1700–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Pakefield, 1682–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Rattlesden, 1558–1662, Rev. J. R. Olorenshaw.
Southwold, 1602–1802, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Woolpit, 1558–1895, P. H. Page.

SURREY.
Battersea, St. Mary's, 1559–1700.
Cranleigh, 1566–1790, W. Welch.
Haslemere, Bap. 1594—Mar. and Bur. 1573–1812, J. W. Penfold.
Weybridge, 1625—Bap. 1797, Mar. 1812, Bur. 1820 (names only from 1797), Miss E. Lloyd.
Woodmansterne, 1568–1710 (to 1750 in progress), F. H. Lambert, F.S.A.

SUSSEX.
Grinstead, East, 1558–1760, R. Payne Crawford.
Lavant, East, 1653—Bap. and Bur. 1810, Mar. 1753, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.
„ Mid., 1567–1748, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.
Southwick, 1670–1837, H. Hall.
Stopham, 1543–1694, Mrs. Vernon L. Guise (*to be continued*).
Treyford, 1728–1811, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Westbourne, 1550–1769, E. A. Fry.

WARWICKS.
Alveston, 1539–1769, R. Savage.
Atherstone-on-Stour, 1654–1812, Rev. J. HarveyBloom.
Barcheston, 1589–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Barford, Mar. 1539–1721, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Bishopton, 1591–1752, R. Savage.
Burmington, 1582–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Charlecot, 1543–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Chesterton, Mar. 1538–1731, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, 1594–1787, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
Cofton Hacket, 1550–1627, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Eatington, 1671–1783, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Halford, 1541–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Honnington, 1571–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Kineton, 1538–1639, R. Savage.

WARWICKS. (*continued*) Lighthorne, Mar. 1539–1734, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom (in progress).
Loxley, 1540–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Luddington, 1617–1638, R. Savage.
Pillerton Hersey, 1539–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
„ Priors, 1604–1629, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Preston-on-Stour, 1540–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Southam, Bap. 1633—Mar. 1657, Bur. 1647–1812, W. Gardner. (*See* also List 2.)
Stratford-on-Avon, 1553–1733, R. Savage.
Wellesbourne, 1560–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Whatcott, Bap. and Mar. 1572–1617, and Bap. and Bur. 1746–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Whitchurch, 1561–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

WESTMORELAND. Bampton, 1637–1812 (in progress), Miss Noble.

WILTS. Amesbury, Rev. C. Ruddle.
Baverstocke, Bap. 1557—Mar. and Bur. 1561–1715, Chas. Penruddocke.
Chitterne, All Saints', Bishops' Transcripts to 1672 by Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Par. (originals lost).
Compton Chamberlayne, 1747–1812, Chas. Penruddocke.
Dinton, 1558–1812, Chas. Penruddocke.
Great Bedwyn, Bap. 1553—Mar. 1539, Bur. 1538–1717, Rev. J. Ward, Par.
Maddington, 1611–1812, Canon Bennett and Rev. G. Bartlett, Par.
Milston-cum-Brigmerston, 1540–1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index copy and Par.
Orcheston St. Mary, Bishops' Transcripts to 1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett (original registers lost).
Preshute, 1607–1707, E. Ll. Gwillim.
Rollestone. 1652–1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index copy.
Shrewton, 1548–1812, Canon Bennett.
„ 1548–1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index form, Par.

WORCESTERS. Alderminster, 1628–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Cleeve-Prior, 1557–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Clent, 1562–1812, J. Amphlett (wrongly inserted in first Report under Staffordshire).
Evesham, All Saints', Bap. and Mar. 1539–1784, Bur. 1538–1546 (in progress), Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
„ St. Laurence, Bur. 1556 (in progress), Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Hartlebury, 1540–1579, Rev. R. A. Wilson (*to be continued*).
Honeybourne, 1673–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
Kyre Wyard, 1694–1812, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.

WORCESTERS (*continued*)

Little Cumberton, Mar. 1540–1627, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

Littleton, North and Middle, 1661–1787, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

„ South, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

Offenham, 1538–1706, R. Savage.

Shipston-on-Stour, 1572–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

Stretton-on-the-Foss, 1538—Bap. and Bur. 1733, Mar. 1754, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom

Tredington, Mar. 1560–1615, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom (in progress).

Worcester, St. Helen's, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Bowstead Wilson, F.S.A.

„ St. John-in-Bedwardine, Mrs. W. R. Carr.

YORKS.

Almondbury, 1557–1652, R. C. Oldfield.

Bradfield, 1559–1670, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Burghwallis, 1596–1693 (with gaps), A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Ganton, Bap. 1556—Bur. 1552–1794, Mar. 1653–1737, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Hartihill, 1586–1697, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Hatfield, Bap. 1566—Bur. 1565-1679, Mar. 1566–1681, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Hemsworth, 1553–1688, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

Hooton Roberts, Bap. and Mar. 1702–1803, Bur. 1703–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Hovingham, 1642–1742, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Kirk Ella, 1588–1812, A. B. Wilson Barkworth.

Linton-in-Craven, 1562–1896, Rev. F. A. C. Share, M.A., Par.

Old Malton, Bap. and Mar. 1606—Bur. 1609–1765, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Saddleworth, St. Chad's, 1571–1800, John Radcliffe. (From 1613–1751 are printed.)

Slingsby, 1687–1737, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Tankersley, Bap. 1593–1742, Mar. 1599–1754, Bur. 1598–1755, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Thorne, 1565–1698, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

Whitkirk, 1603–1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Par. (*See* also List 2.)

Wintringham, 1558–1700, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

No. 4.—Registers of Other Churches.

Printed Registers.

LONDON. French Church, Threadneedle Street, 1600-1639, Huguenot Soc. Lymington, 1896, 4to

WESTMORELAND. Ravenstonedale, Presbyterian, 177?–1809, Congregational, 1811–1837, Soc. of Friends, 1655 1834, Rev. R. W. Metcalf 1894, fol.

MS. Transcript.

KENT. Rochester, (Presbyterian) 1706–1806 (some entries from 1700), Humphrey Wood, F.S.A. (original deposited with Registrar-General).

No. 5.—Sundry Records (printed).

CAMBRIDGE. Ely, Mar. Licences, allegations for, 1582–1591, A. Gibbons, F.S.A.

HANTS. Mar. Licences by Bp. of Winchester, allegations for, W. T. C. Moens, F.S.A. Harl. Soc., vols. xxxv. and xxxvi.

HERTS. Huntingdon Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts, W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.
St. Alban's Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts, W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.

KENT. Canterbury, Mar. Licences, 1568–1618 (First Series), J. M. Cowper. 1892 pr.
,, Mar. Licences, 1619–1660 (Second Series), J. M. Cowper.
,, Mar. Licences, Vicar-Gen. of Archp., 1660–1679. Extracts by Col. Chester. Harl. Soc., vol. xxiii. and complement to do., vols. xxxiii. and xxxiv.
,, Mar. Licences. Vicar-Gen., &c., 1679–1687 and 1687–1694, Harl. Soc., vols. xxx. and xxxi.
,, Mar. Licences, Faculty Office of Archbp., 1543–1869, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiv.

LINCOLNS. Lincoln, Mar. Licences, allegations for, 1569–1670, A. Gibbons, F.S.A. (in progress).

LONDON. London, Mar. Licences, 1520–1610 and 1611–1828, Harl. Soc., vols. xxv. and xxvi.

Westminster, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, 1558–1699, Col. Chester, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiii.

YORKS. York, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, A. Gibbons, F.S.A. (in progress).

SOMERSET. Commonwealth Mar., 1653–1656, Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries II. 73, 104.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. Index to Mar., 1731–1868, H. Farrar, Swan Sonnenschein (in press). dmy. 8vo

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